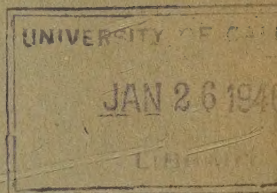


THE BRITISH ACADEMY
SUPPLEMENTAL PAPERS No. VII

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HARKLEAN NEW TESTAMENT

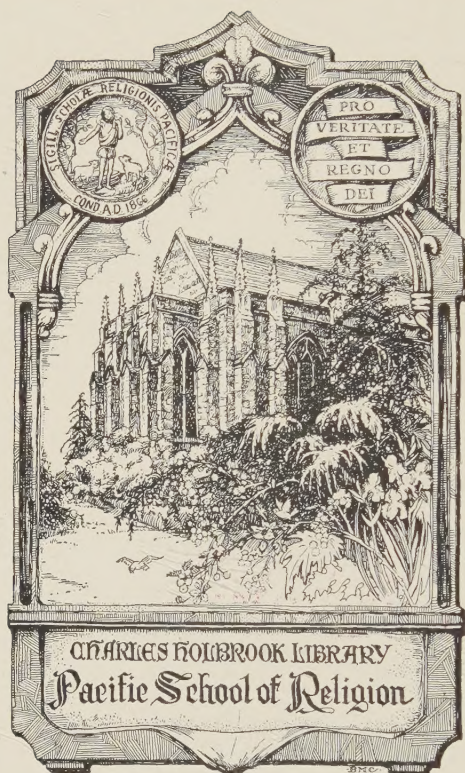
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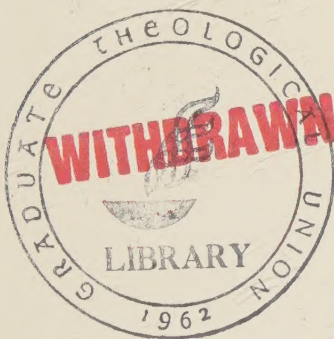
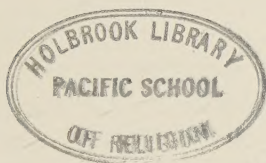


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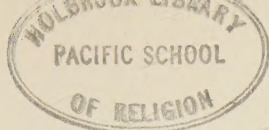
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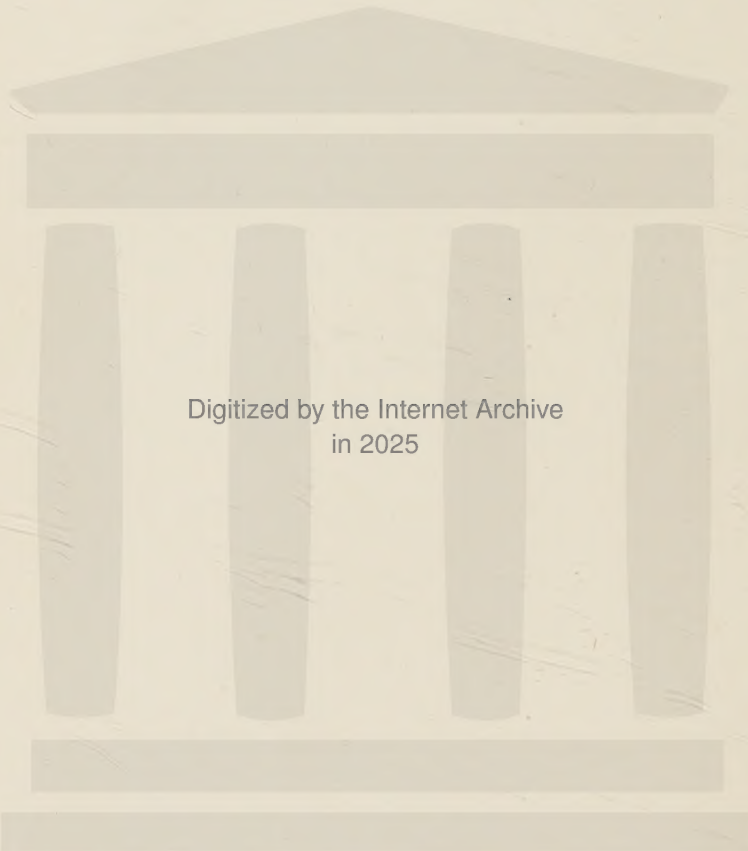
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To the Council of the British Academy the writer expresses his sincere appreciation of the distinction they have conferred upon this pamphlet by allowing it to be published as one of their Supplemental Papers.

Sir Frederic Kenyon, Dr. A. Souter, and the Rev. W. H. P. Davies read the typescript before it went to press. It has greatly gained by their observations, for which the writer would here express his gratitude. Thanks are due also to Mr. C. Moss of the British Museum for patiently answering repeated inquiries.

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Finally he joins the ever-increasing chorus of those praising the readers and printers of the Oxford University Press. The value of their watchful and expert co-operation cannot be exaggerated. *Scimus experti.*



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INTRODUCTION

BABYLON on the Nile, the powerful Roman fortress guarding the Delta, fell to the Persians early in A.D. 619. Shahin led Chosroes' army across the river and downstream along its westernmost arm. On approaching the sea the invaders beheld, beyond Lake Mareotis and the Dragon-canal, the giant fortifications which had broken a Persian onrush more than a century before. This time Alexandria, still one of the greatest cities in the world, the seat of the Orthodox patriarch and hearth of Hellenic civilization, was to fall, the victim to treason, and to discord within its walls.

Around the Persian bivouac there was a different world. Where the ninth milestone on the highway skirting the sea indicated the first post-station, and thence far inland, the barren soil was transformed as though by the agency of countless white ants. This region, called the 'Enaton', was the haunt of the foremost representatives of the national spirit: the Coptic monks. Praying, fasting, singing their psalms, and working miracles, here they lived in hundreds of cells and monasteries small and great. Among the latter there was one commonly called 'of the glass-blower' (al Zugag). It was dedicated to St. George, another one to St. Joseph; one was known far and wide simply as 'the monastery of The Fathers'; still another one was inhabited by the 'Antonians', the observers of the rule ascribed to the founder of monasticism.

The hated strangers yonder in Alexander's city adhered to the Chalcedonian dogma; the Copts stuck to the condemned creed of Cyril. The difference which the theologians had reduced to one letter they kept up stoutly, thus dissociating their world from that of the Hellenes.

With the other opponents of the central government they maintained close contact. Any Syrian defying the authority of Constantinople could count upon their hospitality. Had not Severus, the founder of Monophysitism, found an asylum among them, together with his friends, after his expulsion from Antioch? The memory of the miracles performed by him remained alive among the Copts. With them Severus was (and still is) a saint. His body they had transferred to 'his monastery' at the Enaton, and al Zugag still kept his wonder-working tooth. John of Ephesus tells of several other groups, and even of a whole community, who, when forced to relinquish their Syrian homes,

found refuge in the cells, or with 'The Fathers', of the Enaton. In A.D. 599, when Domitianus of Melitene, a nephew of the emperor Maurice, drove many Jacobite bishops from their sees, at least one of them, Thomas of Harkel, exchanged a cell of the Antonians for his see at Mabug. Some years later he was joined by his patriarch, Athanasius, accompanied by many of his dignitaries. They appear thus to have avoided the flood which Chosroes let loose against the murderer of his benefactor Maurice. 'At the Enaton, in the monastery of the Antonians', this group of Syrian emigrants produced a new version of the Bible. It has survived to the present day. Its Old Testament part is the so-called Syro-Hexapla. The New Testament is known as the *Versio Harklensis*, because Thomas of Harkel supervised its production. It forms the subject of the present paper.

The survival of the Enaton Bible hung on a thread. The Harklean was ready for publication in 616, the Hexapla one year later. Now in 619 the invading Persians burned down the Enaton and killed its inhabitants. Six hundred monasteries are reported to have been destroyed. But Thomas and his friends had brought their work into safety. Soon afterwards copies of it were circulated throughout Syria.

This work Athanasius, nicknamed 'the camel-driver', had prompted. Him Theophanes, the chronicler and confessor, dubbed 'a scoundrel like all Syrians'. From the extant direct evidence, scanty though it is, and even from the legend that accounts for his nickname, the Jacobite patriarch stands out as a Christian of patient foresight, an adroit diplomatist, a knower and leader of men, a reliable friend and an unshakable character. The welfare of his flock was his one concern; and his flock extended from the border of Egypt throughout Syria and across the contested frontier deep into the Sassanian Empire. For their sake he exerted himself, from A.D. 595 onward, throughout thirty-five troubled years. His residence was the monastery of St. Zacchaios near Callinicus on the Euphrates, for, like other non-Orthodox dignitaries, he had to forgo the claim upon his titular see of Antioch. Between the fighting empires he maintained a respected and fairly independent position. The Persians are reputed to have favoured the opponents of Constantinople; at one time indeed they reinstated the bishops expelled by the Orthodox. But their warring habits were indiscriminate and cruel, and Chosroes' friendship was never reliable. The chronicle of Michael the Syrian contains two detailed reports (x. 25 and

xi. 4) showing Athanasius heedfully adjusting the bonds with his brethren beyond the frontier.

His desire for Christian unity was not confined to his own denomination. In answering an inquiry of Heraclius (perhaps already in the early years of his reign, Mich. Syr. xi. 1) he indeed maintained his convictions in face of 'the most peaceful and humane emperor', yet stressed his desire 'to go to the Lord's temple in concord' (ib. 2). He made good his word in A.D. 629, when the victorious emperor stayed at Mabug awaiting the restoration of the Holy Cross and supervising the Persian evacuation. This time they agreed upon an interpretation of the mystery of incarnation which the outsider may be forgiven for regarding as wellnigh solving the insoluble. They designed it to support Christian unity; they created the heresy of Monothelism.

Then as well as on earlier occasions Thomas of Harkel was the patriarch's trusted assistant. The bishop of Mabug was 'minister and syncellus' to Athanasius. This high and confidential office entitled him to represent his master at that one diplomatic transaction of which we know the details. Michael the Syrian (x. 26 f.) copied out some documents concerning the reunion between the Syrian and Egyptian branches of the Monophysite Church. The concordat was achieved in A.D. 610, after a schism of thirty-five years. Athanasius signed and proclaimed it; but Thomas, together with Paul of Tella, another exiled Syrian bishop, had carried out the negotiations with the representatives of Anastasius, the head of the Coptic Church.

This understanding was furthered by the benevolent attitude of the Byzantine authorities. It fits into the general politics of Heraclius and his faithful vicar in Egypt, the Patrician Nicetas. Having put an end to the disastrous tyranny of Phocas they endeavoured to rebuild the realm and to unite its forces in order to stem the Persian onslaught. Thus behind the biblical work which took up the subsequent years of Athanasius' followers there rises the great and tragic figure of the emperor who, *contra fatum*, restored the Eastern Empire and recovered its lost provinces from the perennial enemy—only to lose them against the unsuspected attackers from the Arabian desert. The order founded by the great Alexander after almost a thousand years had outlived its mission. The Greek spirit had touched, awakened, and educated the nations of the Orient. They had from the first reacted against their conquerors; now they broke loose. Time and again, during his inner reforms as well as on

his heroic campaigns, Heraclius endeavoured to unite the Armenians, the Lazi, the Arabs, Egyptians, and Syrians upon the common doctrinal basis prepared by his patriarch and friend, the Syrian Sergius. He permitted the head of the Coptic Church to reside at Alexandria, which had so long been the reserve of the Orthodox. His desire for Christian reunion actuated him to advocate, and even to enforce, the homogeneity of rites and observances. In this field, too, success came within his grasp. Then the new, and old, order asserted itself. Thereafter no desire for religious union with the receding Empire stirred the Easterners. They lived their own lives under their new overlord, the vicar of Mahomet.

The Enaton Bible was elaborated during the years of the most threatening Persian advances. Prior to the accession of Heraclius, Chosroes had reduced the frontier fortresses and reached the upper Euphrates. In the very year of the Alexandrian concordat his army occupied Mabug, once the 'holy city' of the Syrian goddess, but now a bishop's see. Philoxenus, the active friend and ally of Severus, had administered it a century ago; now Thomas of Harkel, a successor of his, was busy, far away in the south, 'collating' the version of the New Testament whose production Philoxenus had patronized. Aleppo fell. Nicetas' splendid victory in the following year only delayed the loss of Antioch and Damascus, and in A.D. 614 Christians everywhere lamented the sack and destruction of Jerusalem. At the Enaton the biblical work went on as though no danger threatened Egypt, crowded with refugees from ravaged Syria and Palestine. Chosroes aimed at conquering the Roman Empire, but his raiding strategy appears to have kindled the vain hope of relief every time the invaders retired into their winter-quarters. In and after 615 John the Almoner, the charitable Orthodox Patriarch, installed at Alexandria at the suggestion of Nicetas, sent relief to Jerusalem where Modestus endeavoured to rebuild the sacred sites. During these years of delusive peace the Enaton Bible was completed.

It is a peculiar product, marking the end of a distinct development. The chronological series of Syriac versions of the New Testament is characterized by an increasing approximation to the Greek original. The Old Syriac, the basis of them all, retells the sacred story afresh; not indeed without due regard to the original yet with comparative freedom; it is the wholly unscientific product of a fresh religious impulse. The Peshitta brings this spontaneous creation into closer agreement with its

original, yet never disregards the exigencies of the national idiom. It would appear to be the ideal combination of faithfulness and natural vigour, but the revision issued in A.D. 508 by Philoxenus of Mabug excelled it in the former quality without losing the latter.

The general quality of the Philoxenian version could not be improved upon. The Enaton Bible laboriously struggles to imitate the original still more closely. In this effort it sacrifices Syriac idiom. The outcome, though a boon to the modern critic, was an outrage against the spirit of the vernacular speech; a kind of interlinear version, often all but unintelligible unless recourse is had to the original.

The all-round perfection of the Philoxenian translation has an analogy in the contemporary version, by Sergius of Rešaina, of the pseudo-Aristotelian *De Mundo* which, in the opinion of an expert, combines 'die getreueste Wiedergabe des griechischen Textes mit völliger Correctheit des syrischen Ausdrucks' (V. Ryssel). But of the painstaking and listless pedantry which characterizes the later version the present writer at least is unable to quote another instance. Yet this mode of translating was not invented by the exiles at the Enaton. They applied the methods which were used in the Syrian schools in the study of grammar both vernacular and Greek. Let him who doubts consult A. Merx's masterly *Historia artis grammaticae apud Syros*.

Syrian grammatics are but a slavish imitation of the Greek. While the immense contribution of the Syrians to religion and art needs no stressing, all their rational endeavours derived from this source and mainly from Alexandria. Hardly ever did they proceed beyond the stage of translation and, at best, adaptation. This holds good for philosophy and theology as well as for the sciences and philology.

The Enaton Bible, then, stands out as an instance *Graecorum artis grammaticae apud Syros*. The Old Testament part, produced under the supervision of Paul of Tella, is the most faithful rendering of the masterpiece of Greek philology applied to the Bible, namely Origen's Hexapla. In the New Testament Thomas of Harkel worked on the same lines; indeed the two editors helped each other. Paul contributed to the Harklean Gospels a version of the *pericope adulterae* and, on the other hand, acknowledges the help of Thomas in a subscription to the First Book of Kings. Moreover, a version of Daniel in a manuscript of the Bodleian Library (Poc. 391) describes itself as Harklean.

Inspired by the patriarch Athanasius and carried out by his

two chief diplomatic advisers, this work may tentatively be viewed in relation to contemporary politics. The recent Syro-Coptic compact indeed it can hardly have been intended to promote, for the Egyptians used a kind of text different from that represented by the Enaton Bible; nor were they interested in the niceties of textual criticism. But the Orthodox opponents of Monophysitism had frequently, and hardly without some justification, denounced the incorrectness of the heretics' proof-texts. In the very year 610 one of their most ardent propagandists, the monk Anastasius Sinaites, protested that in all the libraries of Alexandria there was not one copy of the principal works of the Fathers where the decisive dogmatic passages had not been tampered with. The production then, under the auspices of the Jacobite patriarch, of a Syriac Bible every word of which was brought into agreement, by the most painstaking scholarly methods, with 'the most accurate Greek manuscripts', may have been designed to facilitate Christian reunion. This, however, is only a guess. Whether or not it was prompted by a transitory historical situation, the Enaton version is on a line of development which has a logic of its own.

The Harklean New Testament soon became the characteristic instrument of study and devotion among the Jacobites. Besides it contributed to the survival and propagation of Greek scholarship in Syria. Its originators, the patriarch Athanasius and the bishop Thomas, had both been educated at a centre of Greek grammatical studies, the monastery Qennesrin on the Euphrates. Their work bears the marks of this education. In considering the characteristics and tracing the ancestry of the Harklean Version the paramount influence of Greek scholarship upon the transmission of the Bible stands out at every point. From 'the Enaton of Alexandria' the circuitous trail leads back to Caesarea, whither the methods of the Alexandrian grammarians had been transferred by Origen. We are led from Alexandria back to Alexandria. With these Syrians working in the shadow of its walls just before they fell, Greek learning had returned, in disguise and at nightfall, to the place where it had grown.

I. THE HARKLEAN COLOPHONS

CONCERNING the production and the antecedents of the Harklean New Testament the most important evidence is contained in the subscriptions which in many manuscripts are subjoined to its three component parts. It is justifiable to begin the discussion with

A. THE COLOPHON OF THE PAULINE EPISTLES

if only because it has so far been strangely neglected. It is known only from the 'Mohl MS.' Cambridge Add. 1700 (A.D. 1170), fol. 216v., from which it has been printed by R. W. Bently¹ and subsequently, with a few improvements, by S. A. Cook.²

In the Latin translation subjoined the words used by Assemani, Adler, and White in their renderings of the parallel passages of the other two colophons have been retained. The section given in Greek is one of which the original is easily traced; the interpretation will show that in fact also the preceding sentence is translated from the Greek. In order to make the structure clear capital letters and figures have been added, and the arrangement and punctuation retained as they are in the manuscript. < > denotes a lacuna or omission in the manuscript supplied; () includes an explanatory addition; exponent letters refer to the subsequent notes on points of detail.

- I. (A) Descriptus est hic liber Pauli apostoli et collatus. cum exemplari quod scriptum erat in urbe Mabug: (B) illud autem collatum erat cum exemplari quod erat in Caesarea urbe Palaestinae: (in) domo librorum (i.e. bibliotheca^a) sancti Pamphili: quod etiam scriptum erat manu propria eius^b: (C) Quae erant^c ἐπιστολαὶ δεκατέσσαρες. ὧν εἰσὶν πάντων ὁμοῦ^d. ἀναγνώσεις λα'. κεφάλαια ρμζ'. μαρτυρίαι ρκζ'. στίχοι ε' τετρακισχίλιοι ᾠδὴς'.^f
- II. (A) Versus est autem cum accuratione multa et studio de lingua Graeca <in Syr>iacam in urbe Mabug. (B) <anno> 819 Alexandri <Macedon>is (508 A.D.). diebus religiosi <et sancti> confessoris Philoxeni <episc>opi illius urbis: <cur>a et patientia eius^g:
- III. (A) <Hic> (liber) <aut>em iterum collatus est in Enaton urbis Alexandriae,^h ubi etiam scriptus est,^h cum duobus exemplaribus accuratis Graecis. cura Thomae episcopi

¹ *The Harklean Version of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1899, p. 2.

² W. Wright and S. A. Cook, *A Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. . . . Cambridge*, 1901, 11. In addition, a rotograph of the original has been used.

Mabug et sociorum eius: sicut Evangelium et Actus :
 (B) qui (de)scripserunt eos ad meditationemⁱ et utilitatem
 ipsorum et eorum qui volunt et student discere et custodire
 accurationem verborum et sensuum apostolicorum id est
 divinorum.ⁱ

IV. (De)scriptus vero est et collatus †et hac vice†. (anno)*
 927 Alexandri: indictione quarta (616 A.D.):^h in mona-
 sterio sancto Antonianorumⁱ .:

This is one of the most informative colophons in the whole of biblical literature. It is a composite document; its interpretation depends on correct analysis. This involves a good deal of detail, the purpose of which will be seen from a preliminary sketch of the general result.

The whole colophon clearly falls into the four main sections indicated in the translation. The last of them testifies to the work of the scribe who wrote the ἔκδοσις, i.e. the copy authenticated by collation with the authoritative exemplar. Information about this exemplar is contained in section III: it had been produced by Thomas of Harkel and his fellows on the basis of a Philoxenian MS. which they had first 'collated' (III A) and subsequently copied (III B). Section II gives particulars about this earlier version, obviously on the basis of the colophon of the particular copy which lay before Thomas. To this copy reference is made in the first sentence of the whole subscription (I A).

So far this colophon is substantially identical with those of the Harklean Gospels. But its first sentence is separated from section II by an intercalation (I B and c) reproducing, from the Philoxenian colophon, some particulars which have no parallel in the Gospels. It seems to indicate (I B) that the Philoxenian MS. had been collated at Caesarea with a Greek one written by Pamphilus. This appearance will be shown to be deceptive. The last sentence, finally, of the intercalation (I c) reproduces the subscription of the Pamphilus MS.

Notes on points of detail

(a) *Beth kethabe* is used for Greek βιβλιοθήκη also in the Syro-Hexapla, in the subscriptions of III and IV Kings, while the Greek word is merely transcribed in Syriac letters at the corresponding place in the subscription of Isaiah.² The Armenian (cf. the following note) had similar difficulties in rendering the technical Greek word. *Beth kethabe* occurs also in the Peshitta II Tim. 4. 13, rendering Greek

¹ Sections III and IV are not separated in the MS.

² Cf. below, p. 22.

φαιλόνης. The Syrian translator supposed φαιλόνης to denote the parchment capsula in which book rolls were kept (and he is not easily proved wrong).¹ This sense is likewise covered by βιβλιοθήκη, and the rendering 'house of books' equally suited both.

(b) The subscriptions of several Greek manuscripts refer to their *Vorlage* in a similar way.² Thus the Chigi MS. of the Septuagint Daniel³: 'Εγράφη ἐξ ἀντιγράφου ἔχοντος τὴν ὑπόσημείωσιν ταύτην· Ἐγράφη ἐκ τῶν Τετραπλῶν· ἐξ ὧν καὶ παρετέθη. Sometimes the chain of ancestors is still longer. The text of Codex Marchalianus (Vat. Gr. 2125) is stated, in the inscriptions prefixed to Isaiah and Ezekiel, to have been copied from a manuscript in the possession of an abbot Apollinarius. The subscriptions of this exemplar are thereupon reproduced: in the latter case it had been corrected, by Pamphilus and Eusebius, from Origen's autograph; while the Isaiah inscription embodies another long colophon guaranteeing the quality of the manuscript used for collation.⁴ Similarly the additional subscriptions of Esther and II Esdras in Codex Sinaiticus⁵ repeat Pamphilus' own subscription from the manuscript used by the reviser: Μετελήμφθη καὶ διορθώθη πρὸς τὰ Ἐξαπλᾶ Ὁριγένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διορθωμένα. Taken by itself our section I B strongly reminds one of the 'Euthalian' subscriptions of Acts and Catholic Epistles in the four MSS. 181, 623, 1836, 1898 (Gregory) ἀντεβλήθη . . . τὸ βιβλίον πρὸς τὰ ἀκριβῆ ἀντίγραφα τῆς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ βιβλιοθήκης Εὐσεβείου καὶ Παμφίλου,⁶ and still more of those of the Paulines in Codex H^{Paul} and 88 (Gregory) ἀντεβλήθη δὲ ἡ βίβλος πρὸς τὸ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ ἀντίγραφον τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ ἁγίου Παμφίλου, χειρὶ γεγραμμένον αὐτοῦ.⁷ This subscription, as Conybeare showed,⁸ recurs in

¹ Cf. V. Gardthausen, *Das Buchwesen*, 1911, 146.

² Most of the evidence here collected had already been brought together by A. Ehrhardt, *Röm. Quartalsschrift*, v, 1891, 233 ff., and repeated by A. Harnack, *Geschichte der frühchristl. Lit.* i. 543f.; cf. also H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the O.T. in Greek*, 1900, 78 ff. and 112 ff.

³ H. B. Swete, *The O.T. in Greek*, iii. 574; A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, ii. 864.

⁴ Cf. F. Field, *Origenis Hexapla*, ii. 765; Swete, l.c., p. viii, note 4. On a similar colophon, referring to a 'παλαιώτατον βιβλίον' written 'by the hand of Origen', Palladius (*Hist. Laus.* 147) appears to have built his muddled romance about Origen and the virgin Juliana. Again a Caesarean MS.: Palladius was clearly mistaken in thinking of Caesarea Cappadociae. At a later date, however, the Palestinian editorial methods were adopted also there: witness the subscription quoted by Gregorius Syncellus (i. 387. 7, ed. Bonn.) from an ἀντίγραφον λίαν ἡκριβωμένον, in which Basilus was stated to have corrected its exemplar by collation (ἀντιβαλὼν διορθώσατο). See Socr. B. Kougeas, *Arethas* (in Greek), 1913, 123.

⁵ *Septuaginta*, ed. Rahlfs, i, 1935, 903 and 951.

⁶ v. Soden, *Die Schriften des N.T.* i, 1902, 681.

⁷ H. Omont, *Notices et Extraits*, xxxiii, 1890, 189; A. Ehrhardt, *Centralblatt f. Bibl.* viii. 9, 1891, 388 (often repeated, as (e.g.) by J. A. Robinson, *Euthaliana*, Texts and Studies, iii. 3, 1895, 3, and v. Soden, l.c. 680).

⁸ *ζ.N.T.W.* v, 1904, 49.

Armenian manuscripts: 'This book was copied after an exemplar of Caesarea, which lies there in the chest of books (i.e. ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ) and which was written with his own hand by the holy Pamphilus.' It is remarkable that all the analogies here adduced are connected with Caesarea. J. A. Robinson quotes one more.¹ The manuscript of Origen, *Contra Celsum* (Vat. Gr. 386, s. XIII) reproduces the colophon of its archetype: Μετεβλήθη (leg. -ελήφθη) καὶ ἀντεβλήθη ἐξ ἀντιγράφων τῶν αὐτοῦ ὠριγένους βιβλίων.

(c) *Quae erant* has been inserted to introduce the subsequent citation from the Pamphilus codex.

(d) Here the Syrian translator is at pains to render Greek πάντων ὁμοῦ. Cf. 'Euthalius' ἀνακεφαλαιώσις of the O.T. quotations in the Catholic Epistles (Migne, lxxv. 676 B): ὁμοῦ πᾶσαι αἱ μαρτυρίαι . . . κλ'; cf. ib. 672 A and 746, note 72. As a rule Classical Greek MSS., and so the Chester Beatty biblical papyri, prefix only the noun στίχοι to the figures of stichometrical subscriptions. 'Ομοῦ is added in the final summing up of the στίχοι in Paulus Silentarius' description of the Hagia Sophia²; πάντες is reflected by *erunt omnes versus x* in the Cheltenham stichometry³ and occurs repeatedly in 'Euthalius'. The duplication ὁμοῦ πάντες I know only from the 'Euthalian' passages just quoted. Its recurrence here is therefore significant. Besides it implies that this summing up was preceded, in the Pamphilus MS., by the indication of a partial stichometry.

(e) This figure alone needed some obvious correction. The Syrian gives the impossible sequence 4000 + 80 + 30 + 6. The hundreds are wrong, Greek sampi Ϡ = 900 having been misread as pi π = 80. This very natural corruption recurred in the archetype of fam. 13 in the counting of ῥήματα⁴ in John: ἀπλῆ' for αἰϠλη'.⁵ The same anti-

¹ l.c. 4.

² Cf. K. Ohly, *Stichometrische Untersuchungen*, 1928, 121.

³ J. Rendel Harris, *Stichometry*, 1893, 57.

⁴ This term is still an unsolved riddle. Στίχος is the normal term also in the manuscripts of classical authors; it is used in the summing up of the marginal figures marking the partial stichometry by fifties or hundreds as in Paulus Silentarius and 'Euthalius'. But ῥήματα occurs nowhere outside the small group of New Testament manuscripts which J. Rendel Harris lists in his *Further Researches into the Origin of the Ferrar Group*, 1900, p. 74. His suggestion that it might indicate sense lines stands in the air. But in the Harklean colophon the 'Euthalian' στίχοι of the Greek Pamphilus MS. are rendered by *petgamin*, while the figures of Syriac lists of *petgamin* in the Gospels, as Rendel Harris has shown, are identical with those given for the ῥήματα in the Ferrar group. There the duplication of στίχοι and ῥήματα betrays conflation (see the examples in Rendel Harris, *On the Origin of the Ferrar Group*, 1893, 16). Taken together these facts lend no small support to his suggestion that the unique Greek term originated through retranslation from the Syriac. And do they not equally strengthen the case for tracing the whole list to Caesarea? (Cf. A. Schmidtke, *Texte u. Untersuch.*, 373, 1911, 16.)—See Addendum, p. 122.

⁵ J. Rendel Harris, *On the Origin of the Ferrar Group*, 1893, 15.

quoted sign has been replaced by koppa (Ϟ = 90) in the marginal stichometry of the Hexaplaric MS. F (Ambr. A 147 infr., scl. v) *ad* Deut. 9. 21,¹ by ψ = 700 in the summing up of stichoi in Romans in the Euthalian MSS. 98 and 115,² and by τ = 300 in Hippolytus, *Haer.* iv. 11.

(f) This quotation from the Pamphilus codex is identical with the summing up at the end of the 'Euthalian' list of Pauline ἀναγνώσεις³: Ὅμοῦ τῶν δεκατεσσάρων ἐπιστολῶν ἀναγνώσεις λα', κεφάλαια ρμζ', μαρτυρίαι ρκζ', στίχοι Δ'αλς'.

(g) This section is carefully worded with a view to making it clear that Philoxenus favoured and protected, but did not himself produce, the version to which his name has become attached.

(h) No punctuation in codex C.

(i) Or *studium*, i.e. Greek μελέτη. A typical term of rhetorical practice in the imperial age, μελετᾶν gained wide currency in patristic literature by reference to Ps. 1, 2 Μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς . . . ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ Κυρίου . . . μελετήσῃ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός. Hence (e.g.) μελετᾶν τὸν Νόμον in Acta Pilati A 16. 2 (p. 258 Tischendorf); μελετᾶν Προφήτας Chrys. Hom. in Mt. 5. 2; μεμελετηκότα τὰ καθαρὰ τῶν Λογίων Greg. Thaum. in Orig. 175.⁴ With the present passage may be compared Basil, Epist. 2. 3 μελέτη Γραφῶν and particularly Methodius Conv. i. 1 (14) πρὸς ὠφέλειαν ἢ πνευματικὴ πᾶσα τῶν Γραφῶν ἐδόθη μελέτη. Not unlike Thomas of Harkel also Hesychius of Jerusalem, at the beginning of the fifth century, set out his Στιχηρὸν τῶν ιβ' Προφητῶν 'πρὸς τὴν τῶν μελετωμένων σαφήνειαν',⁵ and added to it brief exegetical comments, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἄγαν ἀναγκαῖον τῷ μελετῶντι. 'Euthalius', then, was following an established usage when prefacing his edition of Acts by that long diatribe on the τῶν θείων Λογίων μελέτη (which tempted Rendel Harris to unwarranted inferences), and Thomas here stands in the same tradition. Shortly afterwards there is another Greek feature: *verborum et sensuum* reflects ῥήματα καὶ διάνοια: the well-known rhetorical bipartition.

(k) MS. C appears to be corrupt here. *Anno* must have stood before the figure. What now precedes it looks like the remainder of a variation of the adverb *tub* (*iterum, item*) which is at the parallel place in the Gospel colophon.

(l) It is readily admitted that the Syriac, as W. H. P. Hatch argued, may stand for 'Enatonians' as easily as for 'Antonians'. The latter interpretation, however, is preferable, seeing that the phrase 'in the Enaton . . . in the monastery of the Enatonians' in the Gospel colophon

¹ Ohly, l.c. 81. ² i.e. α 200 and α 382 according to von Soden, l.c. 666.

³ L. Zacagni, *Collectio Mon. Vet.* 1698, 513 = Migne lxxxv. 720 B = von Soden, l.c. 659.

⁴ 'Coptic literature knows no meaning of μελέτη but "recitation (by heart)" and "(subject for) meditation"' : W. E. Crum, *J. T. S.* xliv, 1943, 128.

⁵ Migne, xciii, 1339; cf. the literature quoted in *Byzantion*, xiv, 1939, 565 f. and J. Rendel Harris, *Stichometry*, 32.

would be a tautology. A precise designation of one particular monastery in the Enaton district is wanted. Of the two possible renderings neither is supported by independent evidence; yet there is no difficulty in assuming that a group of monks observing the *Regula Antonii* was named after its supposed author.

Interpretation

Subsequent to the colophon which is here being discussed the scribe of the Mohl MS. gives particulars about his own work. They do not concern us, except that he describes it as a copy of the 'Harklean recension'.¹ In his view apparently the colophon by which the original ἐκδοσις had been authenticated formed part of this 'recension'. Following the habit of careful scribes he copied it from his exemplar.²

Section IV of the colophon indicates that the archetype manuscript was issued in A.D. 616 at the Enaton near Alexandria. It was copied from, and compared with, the original prepared and written, at the same place, by Thomas of Harkel and his fellows. The date, then, of this basic work is not given.³ While its execution is likely to have taken years, there is every probability that once completed it was copied and issued without delay.

The wording of section III at two places suggests some tampering with an original context. At the beginning, after *Alexandriae*, the words 'where also it was written' interrupt the connexion between 'was collated' and 'with two Greek MSS.'. Seeing that information about the writing of the basic copy is given immediately afterwards (III B), this gloss appears to refer to the same act as does section IV, namely its reproduction.

¹ The term recurs in the Paris MS. Syr. 54, olim 23, of A.D. 1192; see J. G. C. Adler, *Novi Test. Versiones Syriacae*, 1789, 58.

² This need not have been the ἐκδοσις itself. But the excellent quality of the text of C is evidence that few, if any, intermediaries lay between it and the archetype.

³ On the basis of the Gospel colophon this obvious conclusion was drawn already by G. C. Storr (*Observat. super N.T. Vers. Syr.*, 1772, 46 and *Repert. f. Bibl. und Morgenländ. Lit.* vii, 1780, p. 14 note) and adopted by J. White (*Versio Syriaca Philoxeniana*, I, 1778, p. xviii) and J. J. Michaelis in chap. vii, sect. xi, of his *Einleitung* (vol. ii, part i, p. 66, of H. Marsh's English translation, London, 1823). Unfortunately these writers adduced some questionable arguments in support of their assertion and based erroneous conclusions upon it. Though speedily corrected (by J. G. Eichhorn, *Repert.*, ib. 246) these mistakes caused their correct observation to be discredited.

at the Enaton scriptorium.¹ Similarly the reference, a little later (preceding III B), to the other parts of the edition, viz. Gospels and Acts, separates the relative ('*qui scripserunt*') from the governing noun and thus betrays its secondary character.² Insertions of a similar kind are met with in the other colophons. Their very similarity is evidence that Thomas himself, possibly by some marginal notes in the basic copy, enjoined the addition of these glosses.³ Thus they testify to the existence, beyond the manuscript of A.D. 616, of its exemplar written by 'Thomas and his fellows' and furnished with a basic colophon into which these glosses were inserted, and to which section IV was added in the ἐκδόσεις. It is therefore arguable that the copyists or correctors of the ἐκδόσεις which became the archetypes of the existing manuscripts originated other and less obvious variations. This has consequences. A. C. Clark,⁴ on the basis of a highly imperfect translation, threw doubt on the genuineness of the present colophon because the 'poor Thomas' of the other subscriptions is here styled 'bishop of Mabug'. The change may be ascribed to the respectful attitude of the relevant copyist.⁵ A similar objection has been raised against the subscription in cod. Flor. Marc. 724 which served J. Gwynn to clinch his argument for the Harklean origin of the current text of the Syriac Apocalypse.⁶ It can be met in the same manner. Furthermore, the original having been copied at the Enaton more than once, occasional variations both in the colophons and in the text of Harklean MSS. may with due caution be traced to variations in these primary copies in such cases where secondary corruption appears to be out of the question.⁷

The information contained in sections I and II is based on the colophon of the 'Philoxenian' MS. which was 'collated'

¹ Cf. the analogous reference *loco praedicto* in the last section of the Gospel colophon.

² The pronoun in the following clause (after *scripserunt*) was changed into the plural so as to make it fit the insertion.

³ Arethas of Caesarea Cappadociae, the restorer of humanism in the ninth century, had manuscripts of the classical authors produced on the lines of Palestinian editorial traditions. The family likeness of the subscriptions in manuscripts from his scriptorium is evidence that he, like Thomas, directed his scribes even in the details of their individual colophons. Cf. Socr. B. Kougeas, *Arethas*, 1913, 99 ff. and 127.

⁴ *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1933, 306.

⁵ *Vide infra* on the same phenomenon in the colophon of Acts.

⁶ *Hermathena*, x, 1899, 227.

⁷ Cf. below, p. 52.

and thereafter copied by 'Thomas and his fellows'. I A and II, just like III and IV, are closely paralleled in the colophons of the Harklean Gospels. Section II appears to be slightly more precise than its counterpart there.¹ The opening sentence has been telescoped in order to make room for the quotation from the Philoxenian subscription, of a passage (I B and c) not paralleled in the Gospel colophon. It conveys a momentous fact: the Philoxenian version was based, at least as far as the 'Apostolos' is concerned, on a Greek manuscript from Caesarea; more particularly, as will be shown, on a copy of the so-called 'Euthalian' edition.

At first sight the opening two sentences of the Harklean colophon seem to suggest that the copy of the Philoxenian used by Thomas had been collated with the Caesarean MS.; that its scribe had strangely anticipated Thomas in correcting his product by an 'approved Greek copy'. In fact this impression is misleading, if only because the identity of I B with the subscription of the Greek MSS. H^{Paul} and 88 would on this basis be inexplicable. As reproduced in the Harklean colophon the Philoxenian subscription is incomplete. What it was originally becomes clear when it is compared with the subscriptions of the Syro-Hexapla, which was produced by Paul of Tella simultaneously with the Harklean and at the same place.

The subscriptions under the various parts of this great work normally refer to the relevant Greek *Vorlage*, quoting its colophon.² In two cases this Greek colophon is preserved also in Greek manuscripts, just as H^{Paul} and 88 preserve the same reference to Pamphilus which Thomas retained from his Philoxenian MS.

Reference was made, above, note (b), to the subscription of the LXX Daniel in the Chigi MS. In the famous Milan MS (C. 313 inf.) of the Syro-Hexapla, fol. 150v.,³ is the following subscription: 'hic adnotatum erat in libro Graeco ex quo versus est Daniel in Syriacum, sic: 'Εγγράφη ἐξ ἀντιγράφου ἔχοντος

¹ Cf. above, Notes on points of detail (g).

² This fact has not always been perceived in previous treatments of these subscriptions. Hence arose errors of translation (esp. by Middeldorpf): they have here been tacitly corrected. The additions by the Syrian translator are given in Latin, while his quotations from the Greek are retranslated.

³ A. Ceriani, *Mon. Sacra et Profana*, vii, 1874; cf. C. Bugatus, *Daniel secundum edit. LXX*, 1788, 110.

τὴν ὑποσημείωσιν ταύτην· Ἐγράφη ἐκ τῶν Τετραπλῶν, πρὸς ἃ καὶ ἀντεβλήθη'. Paul of Tella, then, was using a copy of a Caesarean ἔκδοσις of which a twin became the ancestor of the Chigi MS.¹

His accuracy can be similarly tested in the Book of Proverbs. Its subscription, again preserved in the Milan codex (fol. 66r.), runs²: 'Adnotatum erat in libro Graeco, ex quo versus est in Syriacum hic liber Proverbiorum, post finem ita: Μετελήφθησαν καὶ ἀντεβλήθησαν αἱ Παροιμίαι πρὸς ἀντίγραφον ἀκριβές, ὃ παρετέθη καὶ ἐσχολιογράφῃ χειρὶ Παμφίλου καὶ Εὐσεβείου, οἱ καὶ ὑπέγραψαν ταῦτα· Μετελήφθησαν ἀφ' ὧν εὗρομεν Ἐξαπλῶν. Καὶ πάλιν· Αὐτοχειρὶ Πάμφιλος καὶ Εὐσέβειος Διορθώσαντο'. Of this Greek subscription the latter half, from after ὑπέγραψαν ταῦτα, survives in the Patmos MS. 270,³ under the so-called *Scholia Origenis in Proverbia*, with which, however, it has nothing to do.⁴ Paul of Tella, then, used a copy authenticated by reference to the Caesarean exemplar; from another one the Patmos scribe copied that fragment of the colophon which, as it stands, could not fail to cause misapprehension.

With the same explicitness Paul refers to the *Vorlage* of the Minor Prophets, interspersing the translated Greek subscription with some paraphrase and comment of his own⁵: 'Collatum erat autem exemplar illud Graecum ex quo versus est in Syriacum hic Liber XII profetarum, id quod adnotatum erat in eo, πρὸς⁶ ἀντίγραφον παλαιόν, ὃθεν καὶ τῶν σχολίων παρελήφθη τὰ πολλά, quae erant apposita in eo (? = τῶν παρακειμένων); et haec: Μετελήφθη τὸ Δωδεκαπρόφητον ἀπὸ ἀντιγράφου κατὰ τὴν παρά-Δοσιν τῶν Τετραπλῶν. Πάμφιλος καὶ Εὐσέβειος Διορθώσαντο ἀκριβῶς.'

In the same way the text also of Ecclesiastes is traced back to a copy corrected by the two Caesarean editors.⁷ This note, too, is introduced by the formula 'Adnotatum erat in libro Graeco

¹ The colophons in these two are identical but for the last word. The difference between ἀντεβλήθη and παρετέθη is purely verbal: the marginal notes were the visible result of the work of collation.

² Cf. P. I. Bruns, 'Curae Hexaplares' in *Repertorium für Biblische und Morgenländische Literatur*, viii, 1781, 96; H. Middelдорpf, *Codex Syro-Hexaplaris*, i, 1835, 304; ii. 603; A. Ceriani, *Mon. Sacra et Prof.* i, 1861, p. vii; F. Field, *Hexapla*, i, p. c. The punctuation of the Syriac is retained in the translation above.

³ C. Tischendorf, *Notitia editionis Codicis Sinaitici*, 1860, 122.

⁴ Cf. *Byzantion*, xiv, 1939, 555.

⁵ Cod. Mediol. fol. 114 r., Middelдорpf, l.c., i. 253; ii. 568.

⁶ The Syriac here has the equivalent of Greek ἀπό. The original apparently had μετελήφθη instead of, or in addition to, ἀντεβλήθη.

⁷ Cod. Mediol. fol 70 r.; Middelдорpf, l.c., i. 400; ii. 657.

ex quo hic . . . versus est'. In MS. B.M. Add. 17103 the same phrase introduces the reproduction of the briefer Greek colophons tracing the text of Judges and Ruth to the Hexapla and Tetrapla.¹

The subscriptions of III and IV Kings have some special resemblances with the Harklean colophon. The former was edited by W. Wright from MS. Brit. Mus. 14437, A.D. 703² 'Μετελήφθη ἡ βίβλος αὕτη τῶν Βασιλειῶν ἡ τετάρτη, ex quo (libro) versus est hic qui in manibus (est) ex Graeco in Syriacum, ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑξαπλῶν, id est sexies, τῆς βιβλιοθήκης Καισαρείας τῆς Παλαιστίνης· ἀντεβλήθη δὲ πρὸς ἀντίγραφον ἔχον τὴν ὑποσημείωσιν ταύτην· Εὐσεβείος Διόρθωσα ὡς ἐλυνάμην ἀκριβέστατα.' IV Kings, published from MS. Paris B. N. Syr. v by Middeldorpf,³ is almost identical.

There are more Hexaplaric subscriptions of this type; that of Joshua⁴ for instance. Some, however, are much briefer. Job, after the customary *explicit*, has only 'Desumptus est Jobus ex Tetraplis antiquis'.⁵ The parallels show that this is the abbreviation of the normal form. It is a part of the subscription of the Greek *Vorlage* (which was not the 'old Tetrapla' itself). Similarly Isaiah has the rendering only of the Greek subscription without the introductory formula⁶: Μετελήφθη καὶ παρετέθη ἀπὸ ἀντιγράφου Εὐσεβίου καὶ Παμφίλου· τοῦτο δ' αὖ ἐκεῖνοι Διορθώσαντο (πρὸς ἀντίγραφον)⁷ τῆς βιβλιοθήκης⁸ Ὑριγένους. It would be a grave error to conclude that these words describe the work of Paul of Tella. The introductory formula *In libro ex quo hic versus est*, &c., has been omitted, but it is implied.

The material so far collected throws light on the scholarly methods of the later Syrian translators. It also shows that section I B of the Harklean colophon, which has so close parallels both in original Greek subscriptions and in their Syriac renderings, is itself translated from the Greek. The words stating this fact may possibly have been left out already

¹ W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum*, i, 1870 p. 32, no. 52; T. Skat Rørdam, *Libri Judicum et Ruth*, 1861, 201.

² *Catalogue* . . . , i, p. 33, no. 55; cf. Field, *Hexapla*, i. 501; Ehrhardt, *Röm. Quart.* v, 1891, 233.

³ l.c. i. 65, ii. 465.

⁴ See W. Wright, l.c., p. 31, no. 51 on B.M. Add. 12133. Cf. Field, *Hexapla*, i. 394; Brooke-McLean, *The O.T. in Greek*, i. 4, 1917, p. 783.

⁵ Cod. Mediol. fol. 52 r.; cf. H. Middeldorpf, l.c. i. 112; id., *Curae Hexaplares*, 1817, 112.

⁶ Cod. Mediol. fol. 183 r.; Middeldorpf, *Codex Hex.* i. 161, ii. 508.

⁷ *Supplevi*.

⁸ Cf. above, Notes on points of detail (a), p. 14.

in the original Philoxenian edition, as was the case in the last two of the instances just quoted. It is, however, much more probable that they were actually extant there. For in the Syro-Hexapla there were many parallel passages in the subscriptions added to other parts of the Old Testament; the omission therefore in one or two cases would not easily cause misinterpretation. As to the Philoxeniana, the case probably was different.

One point remains obscure. Had the Greek *Vorlage* of the Philoxenian Syriac itself been collated with the Pamphilus codex, or were there more intermediaries? The analogy of all the more detailed Hexaplaric subscriptions makes the latter assumption more probable; they illustrate the wide diffusion, from the Caesarean centre, of copies directly or indirectly dependent upon the editorial work of Pamphilus and Eusebius. In the present context, however, this is a minor point. For the interpretation of the Harklean colophon the main upshot is this:

It was not the copy of the Philoxenian version used by Thomas of Harkel which had been collated with the autograph of Pamphilus, but the Greek original (or its ancestor) on which that version had been produced. At the beginning of section I B of the Harklean colophon, after *illud autem*, the words *ex quo istud translatum erat* have dropped out at some stage of this complicated course of transmission. The original Philoxenian colophon, then, stated that this version was based on a Greek manuscript authenticated by the following subscription (I venture upon some hypothetical supplement at the beginning): <Μετελήφθη ἀπὸ ἀντιγράφου ἔχοντος τὴν ὑποσημείωσιν ταύτην> 'Ἀντεβλήθη πρὸς τὸ ἀντίγραφον τὸ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης· τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ ἁγίου Παμφίλου· χειρὶ γεγραμμένον αὐτοῦ.

The identity of this passage with the 'Euthalian' subscriptions in H^{Paul}, 88, and in the Armenian intimates some close connexion between the Pamphilus codex, the 'Euthalian' manuscripts, and the Greek model of the Philoxeniana. Moreover, as was stated above, note (f), section I c of the Harklean colophon, quoted from the Pamphilus codex, is the conclusion of one of the 'Euthalian' tables. This involves the presence of something like the 'Euthalian' apparatus in the *codex Pamphili*, because the items listed in this clause could not have been thus summarized unless the manuscript contained them in detail. The question of the relation between Pamphilus, 'Euthalius', and Philoxenus will be discussed in the last chapter.

The resulting pedigree of the Cambridge MS. has been seen to be as follows:

Before A.D. 309	(1) Pamphilus' Greek autograph;	
	(2) An $\xi\kappa\lambda\omicron\sigma\iota\varsigma$ based on it;	
	(3) a copy of this $\xi\kappa\lambda\omicron\sigma\iota\varsigma$, which became the	basis of
Issued A.D. 508	(4) the Philoxenian Syriac;	
	(5) an 'exact copy' of the latter,	
Shortly before A.D. 616	(6) 'collated' and copied by Thomas;	
A.D. 616	(7) Thomas' autograph copied at the Enaton;	
	(x) possible intermediaries	
A.D. 1170	(8)	C
	(2) and (3) may conceivably be identical.	

B. THE COLOPHON OF THE FOUR GOSPELS

is preserved in many manuscripts and has been made the subject of much research from J. G. C. Adler¹ down to S. New,² A. C. Clark,³ and W. H. P. Hatch.⁴ Its analysis confirms the results obtained in the consideration of the Pauline colophon for which it served as a model.

The translation here subjoined is not based upon the text of any single manuscript. It strives to render that form which Thomas of Harkel wanted his scribes to add to the copies they had written. This norm the Cambridge MS. and the Chester-Beatty codex preserve almost unimpaired. The arrangement of lines in the latter, though not original, has been reproduced in order to facilitate reference. Also the punctuation of the same excellent manuscript has as a rule been retained.

Below the translation are the variant readings, drawn from Assemani, Adler, White, and Hatch, of the following manuscripts:

C = Cambridge, Add. 1700. H = the Chester-Beatty MS. (from Homs; ed. Hatch). L = London, Brit. Mus. Richards 7163. O = Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Coll. Nov. 333. P = Paris 54 (olim 23). V = Vatic. Syr. 268.

¹ *N.T. Versiones Syriacae*, 1789, 45.

² *Harvard Theol. Rev.* xxi, 1928, 382.

³ *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1933, 305.

⁴ *Harvard Theol. Rev.* xxx, 1937, 148.

Translation

- 1 Hic]+autem CLOPV (see note (b)) 4 Syr.]+Aramaeam O
lit. Hebr.) 5 accur.] cura H 11 confess.]+atque C; +et P
6 tribus] duobus LOPV (etiam Vat. 271) (see note (f)) 20-5a om. LOV
2 mult. . . 23 cupiunt] eorumque qui cupiunt P 23 utilem om. P
4 divin.] sanctorum P 24 ut . . 25a servant om. P 25 praef.
tem LOV; simil. P autem om. L; post 26 collatus trp. C

27	praedicto: anno
28	927
29	Alexandri. indictione
30	quarta ^k : ^d (B) Quantus autem labor
31	et cura fuerit mihi in eo
32	et in sociis eius ^l . Dominus solus
33	novit qui redditurus est
34	unicuique secundum opera eius in iudicio suo
35	iusto et recto in quo digni fiamus
36	miserecordia quae ab eo (est). Amen.

35 quo] + nos omnes C

Notes on points of detail

(a) The asterisks are reported from *H* only. Hatch prints one also beside l. 19. This cannot be right.

(b) The particle 'autem' added in all MSS. except *H* (see app. crit.) serves to connect the colophon with the preceding *explicit*.

(c) i.e. A.D. 508.

(d) *H*, according to Hatch, has a different punctuation.

(e) Literally: 'mei Thomas pauper'.

(f) The variant reading 'duobus' is materially wrong. It may be due to the parallel in III A of the Pauline colophon.

(g) With J. D. Michaelis (*Introduction to the N.T.* ii. 1, 182; p. 63, note (f)) I retain Assemani's translation (*Bibl. Orient.* ii. 9; recently revived by W. H. P. Hatch) of this clause. It is guaranteed by the parallel in III B of the Pauline colophon. In the present passage Thomas adopts a less usual synonym of the normal Syriac *ktab* 'to write'. Thus Byzantine scribes, in their colophons, vary between the everyday verb *γράφειν* and the choice *χαραττίζειν*.

(h) i.e. 'for the benefit'.

(i) i.e. 'beneficial'.

(k) i.e. A.D. 616.

(l) i.e. the Pauline Epistles, and the Acts with the Catholic Epistles; cf. the colophon of the latter (III), below, p. 30.

Interpretation

The three main sections indicated in the translation are clearly separated in the Oxford MS. Each section there begins with a new line; the middle one is distinguished by the use of black ink, the surrounding two being red. The corrector C^{Pamph} of the codex Sinaiticus similarly separates the elements which he combined in his subscription of the book of Esther. The same method has been used in the subscriptions of Isaiah and Ezekiel in cod. Marchalianus. The tripartition of the

Harklean colophon likewise resulted from successive accretions.

The distinct origin of sections II and III is evident from the apparent duplication in the statements which they contain. Both speak of collation and copying although, it is worth noting, in a different order. Moreover, both these analogous sections conclude with some pious vows comparable in their general tenor but not identical in detail. These two sections then refer to two successive stages of the 'Harklean' work. The last section, here as in the Pauline colophon, refers to its last stage: the copying executed in the Enaton scriptorium. Its identity in all manuscripts bespeaks the guidance which the scribes were given by Thomas.

In section II it is he himself speaking. The colophon, then, of the autograph which he gave into the scriptorium for copying ended with *servent*. Thomas in this section tells of his own labours: the 'collation' and subsequent copying of the Philoxenian MS. Section I finally describes the Philoxenian version on which he worked, obviously on the basis of the particular copy into which he entered his 'collation'.

The asterisks added to lines 1-3 and 20-35 in the Chester-Beatty codex make it possible to retrace the method followed by Thomas. They indicate the passages marked to be in excess of some norm. This involves no slight on their genuineness: the second passage thus marked, though omitted in several manuscripts, has a close parallel in section III B of the Pauline colophon, which is undoubtedly genuine. When the two passages *sub asterisco* are tentatively thought away, there remains the subscription of the Philoxenian MS., such as it was, not originally, but after Thomas had 'collated' it. At that stage it consisted of two parts. The first (I B), beginning with *Versus est e lingua Graeca*, had been there from the first; the second (II A) Thomas had added in evidence of his 'collation'.

The Philoxenian MS. thus 'collated', and including its enlarged colophon, Thomas copied 'for the benefit of his sinful soul and of those who', &c. This, his final contribution, he betokened by a further addition to the colophon (II B).¹ Moreover, seeing that its original opening would no longer fit the facts, he prefixed a few words which preface the whole subscription rather than the sentence with which they are loosely connected by the Syriac 'Allerweltspartikel' *de*. Careful critic as he was, Thomas asterisked these two passages which his

¹ 'Haec verba additamenta esse quis non sentit?' Adler, l.c. 48, note 5.

autograph had in excess of its exemplar.¹ Thereby some copyists were induced to omit them.

The new purpose which the ancient Philoxenian colophon was made to serve necessitated a few minor changes which resulted in considerable confusion. The original colophon is unlikely to have referred to the ancient bishop of Mabug as a 'martyr'. In any case the words *primum quidem*, which are absent from the corresponding passage (II A) of the Pauline colophon, presuppose the 'collation' (whatever the word implies) by Thomas. This addition, corresponding with *postea autem* at the beginning of the second section, caused some palpable inconcinnity. It stands out in the reproduction of this passage by Bar Hebraeus in the preface of his *Scholia*: 'a second time (after the Peshitta) it was translated in the days of . . . Philoxenus, and it was revised a third time . . . by Thomas of Harkel'. The logical continuation would obviously be by reference to a third translation. Thus it was interpreted by the unknown writer quoted by Assemani from cod. Vat. Syr. 16,³ as well as by the writers of some later Syriac manuscripts. The colophon, for instance, of the Peshitta MS. Pococke 10 (scl. xiv) in the Bodleian Library,⁴ after recounting the history of that version, continues: (versa est . . .) *secunda autem vice per Philoxenum Mabugensem, tertium autem Alexandria per S. Thomam Harklensem*. Statements like this may be influenced by a particular estimation of the Enatonian New Testament.⁵ Michael the Syrian,⁶ however (as usual exploited by Bar Hebraeus⁷), understood the Harklean colophon in a different way. Repeating and smoothening the expressions used there he speaks of the 'correction', by Thomas, subsequent to the 'earlier' Philoxenian translation. There can be no doubt that Michael is rendering correctly the sense which Thomas wished to convey; especially after the origin of the stylistic inconcinnity has been traced to his desire to preserve the wording of the Philoxenian subscription.

It would be strange if the original Philoxenian had not given information about the basic Greek text for the Gospels just as

¹ This fact may be remembered in considering the passages *sub asterisco* in the Harklean text.

² Ed. Sprengling and Graham, 1931, p. 5.

³ Cf. A. C. Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1933, 323.

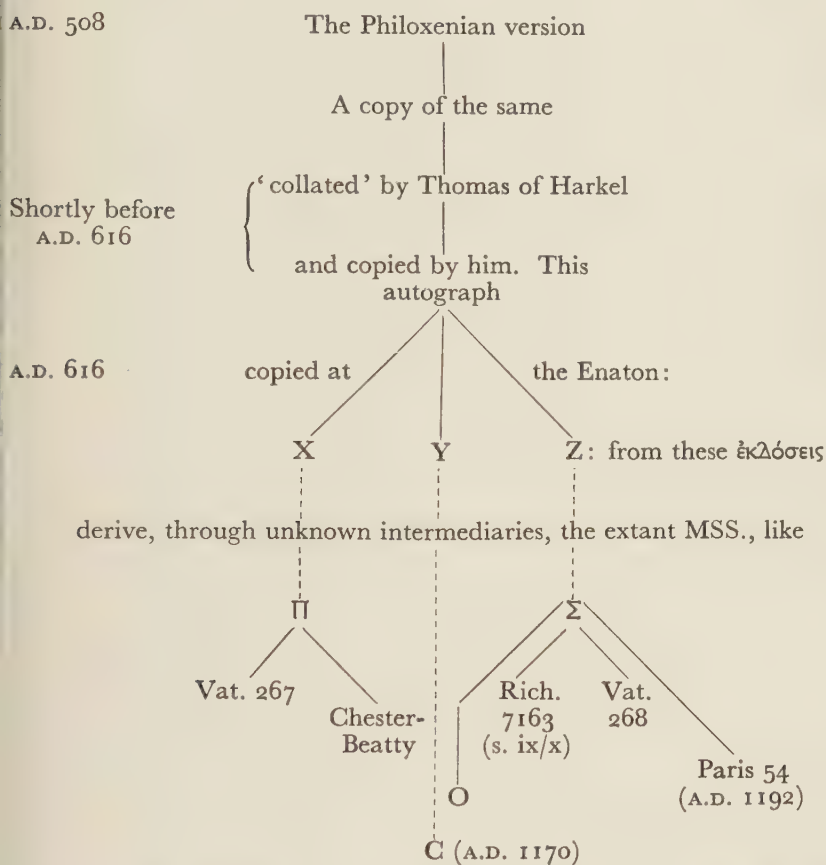
⁴ Payne-Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 61.

⁵ Cf. below, p. 35.

⁶ *Chronique*, ed. Chabot, iii. 1904, 391 (left column).

⁷ *Chron. Eccles.* ed. Abeloos-Lamy, i. 268.

for the Paulines. This reference, however, has been suppressed either by Thomas or, more likely, by the scribe of the particular Philoxenian copy which he used. The inference that a manuscript of the Caesarean type had been used also in this case is permissible. The evidence, however, of the Gospel colophon does not lead back beyond the year A.D. 508. It can be comprised in the stemma



N.B.—The arrangement, in the stemma, of some of the preserved manuscripts is purely tentative, on the basis of the variants in the colophon and, for C and O, in some passages of Acts.

C. THE COLOPHON OF THE ACTS AND CATHOLIC EPISTLES

The colophon of the second part of the Harklean New Testament is preserved in the Oxford and in the Cambridge MSS. From the former it was printed by J. White,¹ whose Latin translation was repeated by J. H. Ropes² and A. C.

¹ l.c., p. 275.

² *The Beginnings of Christianity*, iii, 1926, p. clix.

Clark;¹ from the latter by S. A. Cook.² The translation subjoined renders the text of O, with the variants of C underneath. The insertion of Roman figures, &c., on the model of the other two translations, will be explained in the following interpretation.

Codex O

- (I) (A) (De)scriptus est autem ex exemplari accurato eorum qui (B) versi sunt diebus illius, memoriae piae, sancti Philoxeni confessoris, episcopi Mabug:
- (II) Collatus est autem cum labore multo meo Thomae pauperis cum exemplari Graeco quod valde accuratum et probatum in Enaton Alexandriae urbis magnae: in monasterio sancto Antonianorum.
- (III) Sicut reliqui omnes libri, socii eius:.

Var. lect. cod. C. (I.B) versi sunt] + quidem confessoris] + et (cf. *Evang. I. B, var. lect.*) (II) meo Thom. paup.] Thomae Harclensis (III) sicut . . . eius] anno 927 Alexandri, indictione quarta (*A.D. 616*).

N.B.—The punctuation is as in O, but the commas, as well as the distribution of the text, are due to the translator.

This colophon appears to be unprecise and incomplete in several respects. The very first sentence is incorrect: it was not the copies that had been 'translated in the days of Philoxenus' but the Acts and Epistles. It is furthermore to be noted that the details concerning the Philoxenian version, and including its date, are not rehearsed in section I. Section II reports the 'collation' by Thomas with the customary detail (cf. Gospels II A Paul. III A). But it says nothing about the production, on the basis of the 'collated' Philoxenian MS., of an authoritative exemplar to be multiplied by the Enaton scribes (cf. Gospels II B Paul. III B). Finally, no reference to the work of these scribes such as concludes the other two colophons, appears to be given in this one. Stylistically only the first of these features is objectionable. But materially they all involve contradiction which suggest that this briefer colophon must be interpreted with reference to the other two.

Once again the analysis is profitably begun at the end. Either of the two alternative conclusions in O and C, or even a combination of both, would be grammatically admissible. The very occurrence, however, of this variation demands an explanation. Moreover, if the reading of O is adopted, Thomas

¹ *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1933, 305.

² W. Wright, *A Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts . . . of Cambridge*, 1901, 10.

here claims to have carried out the 'collation' of the whole New Testament himself unaided. This is plainly contradicted by section III A of the Pauline colophon, where Thomas acknowledges the contribution of his collaborators in this preparatory work. But the characteristic reference, by the metaphor *socii eius*, to the other parts of the New Testament, recurs in III B, 32 of the Gospel colophon. It has there been found to refer, not to the work of Thomas, but to that of his copyists. This result applied to the clause in question solves its difficulties. The scientific preparation of the Harklean text was the work of several scholars. Once established, the whole authentic text (*omnes libri*) could be, and was, copied by single scribes. The last words of the colophon in O, then, refer to their work.

The alternative clause in C is familiar from the other two colophons. It has been observed that in both of these the work of Thomas (and 'his fellows') is undated, the year 616 being that of the issuing of the first ἐκδόσεις. It would be futile to question this result on the basis of a variant, in one manuscript, in the text of the present less complete colophon and, by implication, to ascribe the whole preparatory work to the single year 616. Clearly this date, in all three colophons, is that of the emission of the whole of the Harklean New Testament.

The subscription, then, of the basic exemplar ended where the discrepancy between O and C begins. Thomas directed his scribes to copy it and in the customary way to add the particulars about their own work, indicating its object, date, and place. In the two 'sub-archetypes' from which C and O respectively derive this was done in an incomplete and misleading way. Similar derangements in the other two colophons were found to have originated in the same manner.

Section II contains another discrepancy between O and C. The 'collator', according to the Oxford MS., was 'the poor (sinner) Thomas'. Its 'sub-archetype', then, repeated this phrase literally as Thomas had written it. C, on the other hand, similarly as in the Pauline colophon III A, speaks of 'Thomas of Harkel' in the third person. The scribe, then, of C, or, far more probably, already of its particular sub-archetype, had the original wording respectfully changed. Similarly Paul of Tella, the co-editor of the 'Enaton Bible', is styled 'the venerable abbas Mar Paul, bishop of the Believing (i.e. Monophysites)'.¹

¹ Syro-Hexapla, subscr. (e.g.) of IV Kings, and of Joshua in the (lost) *Codex Masii*.

The previous assertion, then, is confirmed that the genuineness of these colophons is not affected by variations of this kind.

Also sections I and II, if taken *au pied de la lettre*, would involve some contradiction with the other two colophons. They appear to suggest that Thomas had 'collated' a copy which an unnamed copyist had taken from an 'accurate exemplar' of the Philoxenian version; and that this very copy, after the 'collation', became the archetype of the extant manuscripts. The material consequences of this straightforward exegesis would indeed be slight. It would, however, involve an unexpected change of procedure in the preparation of this part of the Harklean revision as compared with the Gospels and Paulines. Besides it leaves the stylistic hitch between I A and I B unexplained. It is surely more probable that the editorial procedure was the same throughout the whole work. The appearance of a change of method in the second part of the New Testament can be ascribed to the condensation and/or incompleteness of the present colophon. On this assumption I B would be a remnant of the original Philoxenian colophon. I A was prefixed to it in that copy which Thomas 'collated' (cf. Paul. I A). He marked his own work by adding section II; besides he inserted some expressions of reverence in I B. On the analogy of the other two colophons the production, on the basis of the 'collated' Philoxenian MS., of an authoritative copy is naturally assumed. In the present colophon this step is not recorded. The writer of that copy, who probably was not Thomas (cf. Paul. III B), may have refrained from adding a note which would compare with Gospels II B and Paul. III B. Alternatively, such a note may have been in the archetype *sub asterisco*. C and O, or their ancestors, may have omitted it in the same way as Gospels II B is omitted in codd. V, O and L.

In conclusion a general inference arising from the preceding minute observations may be urged. Like his colleague Paul of Tella, like Arethas and Photius in later days, and like Philoxenus and Pamphilus and Eusebius before him, Thomas of Harkel produced a real ἐκδοσις,¹ on the lines of the philological tradition of Caesarea and, ultimately, of Alexandria. On the basis of carefully chosen and collated manuscripts he prepared a basic

¹ In Roman times the Greek word is used in a sense analogous to the modern 'edition', besides designating the single authentic copies. Cf. generally the passages from Galen quoted by K. Dziatzko, *Untersuchungen über ausgewählte Kapitel des antiken Buchwesens*, 1900, 164 ff.

exemplar. In extensive subscriptions he gave account of his material and of the way in which he had used it. The completed work he had duplicated in the Enaton scriptorium. The single copies were collated again with his exemplar and authenticated by the reproduction of its colophon, with the addition of those particulars which refer to the copies as distinct from the autograph.

II. THE PRE-HARKLEAN TEXT

A. THE EVIDENCE OF THE COLOPHONS

THE preceding analysis has so far yielded little help in settling the paramount question which has been discussed ever since the Harklean version became known in the West. What precisely was the work of Thomas? The manuscripts furnished with his subscriptions (as well as some from which these are absent) transmit one highly characteristic text, and that on the whole with remarkable uniformity. Doubtless it is the form fixed and edited by Thomas. Is it, or is it not, identical with the text of his Philoxenian *Vorlage*?

J. White concluded from the colophons, practically from the first sentence of the first colophon,¹ that it is, and therefore edited it under the title *Philoxeniana*. If White was right the Harklean would now have to be considered, as least in the Paulines, as representing a pure Caesarean text. It is the last thing one would have expected. The preceding discussion, however, would suggest that White's was a somewhat rash conclusion. But even supposing that he might have been correct, the designation adopted by him was not. For there are many quotations from this version in Syriac literature; and always it is referred to as 'Harklean'. In the one case where a Philoxenian text is quoted—we shall come back to it—this text is different and definitely distinguished, from the Harklean. The text which White published is (e.g.) quoted many times in the lexicon of Bar Bahlul: the symbol prefixed to these quotations is *Har(klaja)*. The same holds good for Bar Hebraeus.³

¹ Praefatio, p. xiii.

² 'To it (viz. the confusion of Philoxenian and Harklean) the wording of Thomas' colophon naturally leads': admits the greatest opponent of this identification, J. Gwynn (*Remnants of the later Syriac Versions*, Part 1909, p. xxxii).

³ In the first part of his Scholia on the N. T. Bar Hebraeus, using a copy very similar to the New College MS., headed his quotations from *Jau(naja)*, i.e. 'Greek'. (In the O.T. part of his compilation, this symbol had indicated the Syro-Hexapla—an interesting testimony to the acknowledged interdependence between the works of Paul of Tella and of Thomas.) By and by Bar Hebraeus adopts the symbol *Har(klaja)* to denote the same source. This statement, based on a fairly extensive survey of the material, is in intentional contrast with the view of Göttberger (*Bar Hebraeus und seine Scholien zur Heil. Schrift*, 1900, 139 ff.), who sought to distinguish a 'Philoxenian' and an 'Harklean' element on the basis of

It is the practice adopted already in the Syriac massorah. The scholars who, a century or two after the lifetime of Thomas, compiled these wearisome lists of textual minutiae can be supposed to have known what they were talking about. They too refer to the text which White printed from the Oxford codex by the symbol *Har(klean)*.¹ Even more important in this context is the subscription of at least one of the massoretic manuscripts, viz. B.M. Add. 12178 scl. ix-x:² '[The vowels, etc.] according to the Peshitta Version and according to the Version of Thomas of Harkel.' Not a word about Philoxenus, and the Harklean as a separate 'version' placed on an equal footing with the Peshitta!³

In accordance then with Syriac tradition the description of this text as 'Harklean' is best retained. The fact that the Syrians themselves never used the term 'Philoxenian' as an alternative designation has a certain bearing upon the question from which we started, yet cannot be maintained in itself to decide it. Thomas himself professes to have 'collated' his Philoxenian MS. with various Greek codices. Does this imply this varying designation. By the way, G. greatly overrates Bar Hebraeus in ascribing to him an original contribution to textual criticism (p. 139, 'B. H. trägt ein reiches Textmaterial zusammen'): the passages which gave him this impression, like Mt. 25. 1, 28. 5; Mk. 11. 10; Luke 19. 38, are simply copied from the Harklean margin.

¹ J. L. Delaporte, *Rev. Bibl.*, N.S. ix, 1912, 391 ff. with excessive detail refuted the nonsense which H. Gressmann (*Z.N.T.W.*, v, 1904, 248 ff.; cf. O. Klein, *Z.A.T.W.*, Beiheft xxviii, 1916, 3 ff.) had inferred from some massoretic notes published by Gwilliam (*Tetraev. Sanctum*) from MS. B.M. Add. 12178. The majority of the occasional differences between the Harklean notes in this manuscript and the text of White concern irrelevant details of punctuation and orthography; the remainder are due to the fact that the London MS. is a particularly poor representative of the massoretic tradition (*sans valeur*, says Delaporte), and that the Oxford codex is not free from faults either. In particular, both have undergone the influence of the Peshitta. The basic identity of the text thus imperfectly represented is beyond question. The quotation, under the heading *Har*, of the Harklean marginal scholion on Jn. 19. 25 would by itself suffice to prove that.

² G. H. Gwilliam, *Studia Bibl.* iii, 1891, 63.

³ Thus the Lucianic recension of the O.T. is reckoned as a separate *ὑποκρίματα* by Greek writers; see the testimonia in H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the O.T. in Greek*, 1900, 80 f. A modern New Testament manuscript in the possession of the late J. Rendel Harris, in which only the four minor Catholic Epistles are Harklean, describes these as 'translated from the Greek into Syriac for holy Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabug' (Gwynn, *Remnants* . . . , i. 152). This is a mere excerpt from the normal Harklean colophon and admits of no inference.

thorough alteration? The term itself is ambiguous. It can refer to the merely technical work of the διορθωτής in removing scribal errors. Thus it was here understood by Assemanus ('tantum emendasse') and his followers down to S. New ('merely copied') and A. C. Clark ('the plain meaning of the colophon'). It has meantime become clear that this meaning is anything but plain. The Philoxenian MS. had naturally undergone the normal διορθωσις about a century before Thomas, and the notion about 'copying' in the Gospel colophon has been found to refer to the work of the scribe duplicating the autograph prepared by Thomas and his 'friends'. But apart from the διορθωσις normally applied to every 'approved' manuscript immediately after its completion (and attested for the Harklean ἐκδόσεις in the third section of the Gospel colophon and the fourth of the Pauline), 'collation' only less normally served another, and different, purpose.

'Collation', and subsequent copying, were also the ways in which thorough revision, in adaptation to different textual standards, was normally carried out. It is in this way that the bulk of 'mixed texts' came into being, as (e.g.) the 'Caesarean' MSS. of the Byzantine age, or the Vulgate MSS. sprinkled with Old Latin readings. To describe this procedure there was no technical term available but just ἀντιβάλλειν. 'Ἀντεβλήθη πρὸς παλαιώτατον λίαν ἀντίγραφον' professes one of the correctors who endeavoured to adapt the text of Codex Sinaiticus to a different norm. A copy of **Σ** made after this revision would present a text substantially different from its basis, a 'new version' comparable, *mutatis mutandis*, with (e.g.) cod. 1 or 700. Now this is just the procedure which Thomas professes to have adopted: ἀντεβλήθη (to render his words in Greek) πρὸς τὴν ἀντίγραφον μάλιστ' ἀκριβῆς; and he had the resulting text duplicated on the basis of the ἰδιόγραφον which he had written himself.

It seems natural, in the second part of the Gospel colophon (and III A of the Pauline), to take ἀντιβάλλειν in the latter of the two possible connotations just indicated. The assumption that the text of the Harklean MSS. is nevertheless the Philoxenian implies that both Thomas and his copyists reproduced the collated Philoxenian exemplar without introducing into the ἐκδοσίον, as was usual, the results of the collation. It is anything but an obvious assumption, suggesting the result of Thomas' labours, and the characteristic of his ἐκδόσεις, to have consisted not in their text, but in its critical signs and marginal apparatus. Yet, though supposedly outstanding enough to compel the

general adoption of a new designation for an older text, this characteristic is absent from many manuscripts, including the Florentine, which is the oldest (A.D. 757), and C, which is the most perfect existing. The former manuscript also has no colophon, while C has the complete set of them. Likewise the *Codex Angelicus* has the colophon but no critical apparatus. Are we then to regard such manuscripts as void of any Harklean characteristic? Are they Philoxenian because they lack the visible traces of Thomas' collation?¹ This would not seem to have been the view of the Syrians for whom they were written. They refer to the text, and not to the apparatus, as Harklean. Passages received into Jacobite lectionaries are designated in the colophons as Harklean, though naturally they have no trace of the characteristic apparatus; the massorah, and likewise Bar Hebraeus, under this heading quote sections of the Harklean' text regardless whether marked by a critical sign or not. Never, I think, do they replace a reading in the text by a variant from the margin; and only in exceptional cases² is the marginal apparatus referred to at all.

The present writer may be prejudiced in feeling that these facts point to the text, rather than the apparatus, having been regarded by the Syrians as the outstanding contribution of Thomas of Harkel. To him it seems not easy, though perhaps just possible, on the basis of the facts so far considered, to maintain the identity of the Harklean and the Philoxenian text. Enough if the alternative view is recognized as, to say the least, not irreconcilable with the evidence furnished by the colophons and other Syriac sources.

B. OTHER ARGUMENTS

The alternative view, after some desultory remarks by Michaelis and Adler,³ was proclaimed in 1837 by G. H. Bernstein: 'Charklensem non Philoxenianam interpretationem in publicum emisit White'.⁴ As has been shown above, he was right at least in a literal sense. But what are the implications?

¹ This conclusion was considered in earnest by J. G. C. Adler (*N.T. Vv. Syrr.* 1789, 55 . . . *attamen contextus ab Harclensi recensione parum differre videtur*) and echoed by Bishop Marsh in his notes on J. D. Michaelis's *Introduction*, ii. 2, 1823, 577.

² See above p. 34, note 3.

³ Above, note 1.

⁴ *De Charklensi N.T. translatione Syriaca Commentatio*, p. 5, note 5. In view of a general protest Bernstein endeavoured to soften the implications of this dictum in the second edition of his pamphlet, 1854, p. 36, note 14.

Those who supposed a definite difference to have existed between these two texts followed two different lines of argument. (a) The Harklean text is fundamentally that of the Peshitta; it differs from it wherever the rigid rules observed by its author necessitated alteration.¹ On the assumption that the Philoxenian was its less rigid predecessor it was not unreasonable to look for such differences in texts which, though of a general Harklean character, contained a larger proportion of Peshitta readings. On this basis G. H. Bernstein proposed the *Codex Angelicus* as a representative of the pre-Harklean, i.e. Philoxenian, text.² He was thoroughly refuted by J. H. Hall in 1882³: the deviations in this manuscript from the norm are simply due to secondary corruption. Hall at the same time, and with arguments of the same kind, presented a manuscript from Beirut of whose text he unfortunately gave only a tiny specimen. It is, however, obvious that the leading ecclesiastical version was bound to influence the cramped wording of the Harklean, just as the Greek ecclesiastical norm affected every single Byzantine manuscript. Hall therefore failed to gain the consent of critics for his identification.⁴

(b) The second line of argument was elaborated by J. Gwynn. Its fair and exhaustive reproduction by S. New⁵ relieves me of the task of describing it in detail. I would, however, here underline the almost irresistible force of this argument. The four minor Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse are absent from the Peshitta, but of each two other Syriac translations are extant. Of these, one pair is doubtless Harklean, and the other pair, the 'Pococke Epistles' and the 'Crawford Apocalypse'. Consequently, the latter are remnants of the Philoxenian translation. Is it safe to counter this 'almost mathematical proof' by the assertion that, judging from his colophons, Thomas appears not to have revised but copied the Philoxenian? If his text is a revised edition of the Pococke and Crawford texts, must not he have revised them? The colophons, as I have tried to show, are at least capable also of this interpretation.

¹ It is enough to compare a few passages in both versions in order to acknowledge the correctness of this view, which was first propounded by G. C. Storr, *Observ. super N.T. Versionibus Syriacis*, 1772, 93.

² *Das heilige Evangelium des Johannes*, 1853, 25.

³ *Journ. Bibl. Lit.* 1882, 16 ff.

⁴ Cf. J. Gwynn, *Remnants*, i, p. xxx; F. C. Burkitt, *J.T.S.* xxxiii, 1932, 255.

⁵ *H.T.R.* xxi, 1928, 385; cf. A. C. Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1933, 323.

The solution, proposed by S. New and A. C. Clark, of the present problem was, indeed, one of engaging simplicity: the text is Philoxenus', the margin Thomas'. Ever since it was proposed it has gained the assent of some students.¹ However, if this solution is to be maintained, Gwynn must be refuted and the many minor facts discarded which, in the previous sections of the present inquiry, appeared to point in the direction of this view.

It is not an easy task to detect a flaw in the argument which Gwynn proposed with profound learning and judgement and substantiated by a wealth of illuminating detail. A tentative counter-argument might perhaps be developed on these lines: given that the versions published by Gwynn are the basis of those extant in the Harklean MSS., does it follow that they are Philoxenian? Supposing the Philoxenian text to have been identical with the Harklean, is it not possible to credit Polycarp, the Philoxenian translator, rather than Thomas, with the revision of the older version? On the hypothesis of J. White and S. New, Polycarp must anyhow be supposed to have similarly revised the Peshitta.

This argument was advanced by A. C. Clark.² It involves a serious chronological difficulty. The non-canonical books, not included in the Peshitta, can hardly be supposed to have been translated earlier than or together with it. If, then, they are later, the space of time between their first appearance and the supposed revision by Philoxenus becomes unreasonably small. This objection, then, like so many others, has to be discarded if the identity of the Philoxenian text and the Harklean is to be maintained.

Thus everything turns on the question: what was the text of Philoxenus? The versions edited by Gwynn being anonymous, is there any other evidence? If the Harklean text is, in fact, identical with the Philoxenian, ought not some trace of it to appear already before it was 'copied' by Thomas? If not, is it really impossible to trace that text of the canonical writings which Thomas 'collated': the new version executed 'in the days of the holy martyr Philoxenus'?

¹ Père M.-J. Lagrange, for example, accepted the new theory *en bloc* (*Critique textuelle*, ii, 1935, 229 *et passim*); so did G. Kümmel (*Theol. Rundschau*, N.F., x, 1938, 321). Sir Frederic Kenyon, on the other hand, in 1937 (*The Text of the Greek Bible*, 124) reaffirmed the allegiance to the thesis of J. Gwynn which he had professed in 1901 (*Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the N.T.*, 141).

² l.c. 324.

To the present writer it has been a matter of infinite astonishment that this question should have been discussed for more than 150 years without anyone troubling in search of definite evidence to probe the writings of Philoxenus, as well as other sixth-century literature. He is conscious of being himself imperfectly equipped for this task. But it would be a pity to go on shaking empty bottles for another 150 years.

(C) THE N.T. TEXT OF PHILOXENUS

(1) *The writings of Philoxenus*

Second only to Severus of Antioch, Philoxenus was the outstanding figure, in the early sixth century, among the leaders of Syrian Monophysitism: as a stylist his rank, in the opinion of his countrymen, was contested by none. Small wonder that scholars should have found in his writings problems more attractive than the quest of the biblical text from which he drew his quotations. Only E. A. Wallis Budge, in his edition of the *Discourses*,¹ paid attention also to this question. 'The version used by Philoxenus', he stated, 'was the Peshitta quoted loosely, with such modifications as his argument required or his fancy dictated.' He supported his view by a compelling array of proof-texts. Independent tests by the present writer have reinforced his conclusion. Budge referred only to the work which he edited. But, as far as this question was at all considered, general validity appears to have been ascribed to his view. What else could possibly have deterred critics from the attempt to trace the Philoxenian text in the writings of Philoxenus? Nor would this assumption be without some justification. When his suffragan Polycarp brought him the new translation the bishop of Mabug was well over sixty; his extant writings, or at least a great proportion of them, can be assumed to have been penned in his earlier years. In fact, to judge from incomplete tests, Philoxenus appears to have used the Peshitta also in the ten discourses *De Uno ex Trinitate*.² Of the published minor writings some, like the letter addressed to the emperor Zeno, are known to have been written a long time before A.D. 508, while others, like the tract *On heresies*, contain no quotations at all. But the *Letter to the monks of Teleda*³ is known to date from about A.D. 520, and its editor in fact professed to find in it traces of a different biblical text.

¹ Vol. ii, 1894, p. ix.

² *Patrol. Orient.* xv. 442 ff.

³ Edited by I. Guidi, *Mem. Acad. Linc.* 3rd series, vol. xii, 1884, 446 ff.

which he suspected to be Polycarp's version. With due respect for the superior erudition of I. Guidi, the present writer confesses that the fairly numerous passages which he has tested did not enable him to subscribe to this suggestion: the diagnosis of E. A. Wallis Budge appeared to apply also to them. An explanation is at hand: in the exile at Gangra Philoxenus may have been allowed the use only of the ecclesiastical text of the Syriac Scriptures.

It is tempting to test one work of Philoxenus before all others; viz. the fragments of his commentary on the Gospels. They are preserved in two manuscripts in the British Museum, written in Mabug, one of them certainly (A.D. 510/11), the other probably, during his episcopate and after the completion of Polycarp's version.¹ Their biblical text of course may be the Peshitta: the commentary may have been completed before A.D. 508. Yet some surprise may be in store for the student. Unfortunately this oldest document of Monophysite exegesis is still unpublished and the manuscripts are at present inaccessible.

There remains only one of the greater works: the tract *De Uno et Trinitate*, carefully edited by A. A. Vaschalde.² There indeed the student does meet with some surprise. Here too, it is true, the majority of N.T. quotations are based upon the Peshitta. But a notable proportion are not. They are not Harklean either. The text of these quotations is something like a half-way house between these two versions.

It is necessary first to obviate the objection that these deviations might be due, not to the influence of another version, but to some unaccountable fancy of the writer. This view is excluded by three facts. First, these variations are not fanciful; there is a system in them: the wording given by Philoxenus, as a rule, agrees either with the Peshitta or with the Harklean. Secondly, the variations in question are quite different from those which Budge rightly ascribed to fancy (the present tract has some instances also of this kind³): they clearly tend to make the Peshitta conform more closely with the Greek; in some cases they even presuppose a Greek wording different from that which lies behind the Peshitta. This cannot be due to fancy or chance. A version

¹ Cf. A. Baumstark, *Oriens Christianus*, ii, 1902, 161; id., *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 1922, 141.

² *Corp. Script. Christ. Or.*, Ser. ii, 27, 1907.

³ e.g. p. 213, line 14 (Luke 1. 13); p. 228, 12 (Acts 7. 11); 158, 21 (Acts 7. 32).

dominated by this tendency must lie behind variations of the kind; particularly so if Philoxenus, as has been stated, did not know Greek.¹ Thirdly, some of these non-Peshitta passages fortunately recur more than once, and with the same peculiar wording. Fancy could not achieve that. Philoxenus is quoted from a . . . 'Philoxenian' text.

(2) *Quotations in De Uno et Trinitate.*

It is proper at once to produce some such passages. Luke 34 f. is quoted fully four times,² always with the same wording. In v. 34 *Phil(oxenus)* agrees with *Pesh(itta)* against the Harklean as represented by White's edition of the *O(xford MS.)*. In the second half of the quotation things are different.

N.B. The Syriac words in the tables are to be read from the left to the right. Some critical notes have been added with the sole purpose of illustrating variations occurring within the Syriac evidence. In no way do they aspire to completeness.

Exhibit I

Luke 1. 35

Phil = Philoxenus ll. cc.

Greek	Πνευμα	αγιον	ΕΠΕΛΕΥΣΕΤΑΙ	ΕΠΙ ΣΕ	
Pesh	ܡܝܐ	ܡܝܐܐܝܬܐ	ܠܠܠ	ܡܝܐ.	
Phil	”	”	ܠܠܠ	ܡܝܐ	
O	”	ܡܝܐܐܝܬܐ	”	”	
Greek	και	δυναμις	υψιστου	ΕΠΙΣΚΙΑΣΕΙ	ΣΟΙ
Pesh	ܘ	ܡܝܐܐܝܬܐ	ܡܝܐܐܝܬܐ	ܡܝܐܐܝܬܐ	ܡܝܐܐܝܬܐ
Phil	”	”	ܡܝܐܐܝܬܐ	”	”
O	”	”	”	”	”

In these seven words there are four differences between Pesh and O. In three of them Phil agrees with O against P:

(1) The rendering, in O, of *υψιστου* by *marima* is in accordance with the Harklean tendency of giving one equivalent for each Greek word. 'Ο θεός ὁ ὑψιστός had been rendered, in the Old Syriac, simply by *Allaha rama (deus altus)*, and *ܡܝܐܐܝܬܐ* by means of the same adjective. In the latter case³ Pesh has followed suit. But in rendering the former phrase Pesh has

¹ Cf. J. Lebon, *Rev. hist. eccles.* xii, 1911, 417. But C. Brockelmann (in *Geschichte der christlichen Literaturen des Orients*, 1907, 29) is of the opposite opinion.

² P. 55. 24; 58. 9; 95. 2; 236. 29.

³ Luke 6. 35.

adopted the more emphatic derivative *marima*.¹ This the Harklean gives throughout.² In Lk. i. 32, 35, 76 the author of the Old Syriac had recognized, in the Greek (υἱός, δύναμις, προφήτης) υἱίστου, the El Elyon of the Old Testament, and therefore had rendered it by its Syriac equivalent *'elaja*. Pesh had followed him.³ O eliminates the irregularity. Philoxenus had done so before Thomas.

(2) The omission in Pesh of an equivalent for Greek ἐπὶ σέ probably is an Old Syriac relic.⁴ This, too, Philoxenus had adapted to the Greek before Thomas.

(3) The variant in the rendering of ἐπελεύσεται is not a mere matter of grammar. Syriac *ruḥa* (spirit), as is well known, is a feminine. 'In the Old Syriac it is always feminine when it means the Holy Spirit.'⁵ The present is one of the many passages where, in the form of the verb, Pesh retained this idiom. It was, however, apt to give rise to strange heretical conceptions like that of 'Jesu Mother, the Holy Spirit' in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. In many relevant passages, therefore, the verb has been changed into the masculine already in Pesh. The Harklean carried out the emendation at the remaining places. In the present passage the text used by Philoxenus had anticipated this alteration.

Few, I suppose, would ascribe these agreements between Phil and O to mere chance. The one instance where Phil rejoins Pesh is equally characteristic. *Ruḥa de qudša*, the correct idiom for πνεῦμα ἅγιον, is used throughout in Pesh, and practically so in the Old Syriac.⁶ But to the myopic eye of Thomas of Harkel this must have appeared rather to be the rendering of a Greek πνεῦμα ἁγιασμοῦ. For the Greek adjective he wanted the adjective also in the Syriac. Therefore he introduced *ruḥa qadiša* every-

¹ Mk. 5. 7; Lk. 8. 28; also Acts 16. 17; Hebr. 7. 1 (and for mere υἱίστος, Acts 7. 48).

² This form apparently was welcome because it is almost identical with the one used, in all three versions, in rendering ἐν τοῖς υἱίστοις (*ba meraume*, Mt. 21. 4; Mk. 11. 10; Lk. 2. 14, 19. 38). The Harklean, in its usual way, also strove to express the Greek article in ὁ θεὸς ὁ υἱίστος by inserting, before the adjective, the pronoun *hau* (it has been omitted in O, Mk. 5. 7, apparently under the influence of Pesh).

³ Only v. 76 is preserved in Syr. sin.

⁴ It recalls the (Marcionite?) alternative of Luke 11. 10, ἐλθέτω σου τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, with or without the addition of ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. Tatian and the Persian version, too, omit ἐπὶ σέ; but they are dependent upon Pesh.

⁵ After Burkitt, *Evang. da Mepharreshe*, ii. 310; cf. ib., p. 44.

⁶ Cf. Burkitt, l.c. i, p. xi f.

where. The present passage as well as several others give the impression that this change had not been anticipated in the text from which Philoxenus quoted.

Another passage quoted more than once by Philoxenus Mt. 1. 18: it occurs complete p. 265. 25 and, omitting the words *μνηστευθείσης* . . . Ἰωσήφ, p. 236. 25.

Exhibit II

Mt. 1. 18

Phil^a = Philoxenus, p. 236. 25

Phil^b = „ p. 265. 25

Greek	Του δε ἰησοῦ			χριστοῦ	ἡ γενεα
Pesh	ܡܕܢܐ ܥ?	ܕܥܥܐ?		ܠܥܥܥܐ	—
Phil ^a	{ om. hic }	”	ܥ?	”	ܠܥܥܐ
Phil ^b		”	om. ²	”	”
O		”	ܥ?	”	”
Greek	οὕτως	ἦν		μνηστευθείσης	
Pesh	ܠܥܥܐ	ܠܥܥܐ		ܥ ܠܥܥܥܐ	ܠܥܥܐ
Phil ^a	”	ܠܥܥܥܐ?	”	Phil ^b {	
Phil ^b	”	”	”	tantum {	”
O	”	”	”	”	”
Greek		τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ		μαρίας	τῷ ἰωσήφ
Pesh	ܥܥܥܐ	ܥܥܥܐ?		—	ܥܥܥܥܐ
Phil ^b	”	”		—	”
O	ܥܥܥܥܐ	ܥܥܥܐ? ܥܥܥܐ?		—	”
Greek	πριν ἢ	συνελθεῖν αὐτοὺς		εὐρεθῇ	ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχού
Pesh	ܥܥܥܐ	ܠܥܥܥܥܥܐ		ܠܥܥܥܥܐ?	ܥܥܥܐ
Phil ^a	”	”		”	”
Phil ^b	ܥܥܥܐ ³	”		”	”
O	ܥܥܥܥܐ ܥܥܥܐ	”		”	ܥܥܥܥܐ? ܥܥܥܐ
Greek	ἐκ	πνεύματος	ἁγίου		
Pesh	ܥܥܥܐ	ܠܥܥܐ	ܠܥܥܥܐ?		
Phil ^{a=b}	”	”	”		
O	”	”	ܥܥܥܐ		

¹ γεννησις L, Γ, Π, 700 al.; generatio latt.

² The omission is due to the context and has no textual significance.

³ Sic; cf. the Old Syriac and the 'Palestinian' lectionary.

The greater, second, part of this Philoxenian quotation appears to repeat the Pesh. Yet the characteristic deviation, at the beginning, from Pesh, identical in both instances and agreeing with O, is evidence of a different basic text. O and Phil are striving

both in the same way, to adapt the word order of the older translation to the Greek; they also secure a precise equivalent for γένεσις, in order to avoid the equivocal *generatio* which Pesh had taken over from the Old Syriac. The word *hawaja* chosen by Phil and O is one of philosophical rather than of biblical flavour; it is foreign to the older translations but was used by Thomas also at Mt. 1. 1.¹

It is rather surprising that Philoxenus should also have anticipated, at this place, the typical Harklean mode of rendering the Greek *verbum substantivum*. This cumbrous circumlocution, to judge from other passages, was at least not favoured by him. Here, however, he appears to have intended to stress the phrase which heads the story of the Birth. Another Harklean characteristic is avoided here as elsewhere by Philoxenus, viz. the full reproduction of the Greek possessive pronoun by means of personal suffixes attached to the particle *d'il*. Philoxenus attaches the suffix to the noun. The Harklean rendering of the Holy Spirit' he has already been observed avoiding (under Exhibit I). Equally characteristic is his retention of the older and freer rendering of ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα by the one word *batna* (*gravida*). The Harklean painfully imitates the Greek. So it does in Rev. 12. 2.² There the Crawford MS. has *batna* instead. Its text was regarded as Philoxenian by Gwynn.³

A sentence from Rom. 8. 3 which invites dogmatical exegesis is quoted fully four times by Philoxenus. Two of these quotations are less complete, yet all of them are instructive. Only one of them is quite identical with Pesh. As arranged in Exhibit II they approximate more and more closely to a form (Phil⁴) which in its second half is identical with the Harklean, the first half remaining in every case as it was in Pesh.

Pesh deviates from the Greek, first, owing to the characteristic difficulty with which Syrian translators were presented by Greek participial clauses. Here, as so often, Pesh decided to

¹ At this place it is attested, for the Harklean, by the Massorah published from Cod. Bibl. Nat. 66 by J. L. Delaporte, *Rev. Bibl.* n.s. ix, 1912, 396.

² De Dieu's Apocalypse is Harklean (cf. above, p. 19, note 5). Gwynn, I suppose, did not mention one strong argument supporting his thesis: in the manuscripts of the Syriac massorah this translation is quoted as 'Harklean'. For the present passage cf. J. Gwynn, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, 1897, p. xxix, bottom.

³ It is a matter of surprise that even the Harklean should have retained the particular word order 'Mary, His mother' which is common to all Syriac translations, except the 'Palestinian' lectionary, yet not mentioned in any critical edition.

Exhibit III

Rom. 8. 3

Phil¹ = Philoxenus, p. 237. 7Phil² = „ p. 143. 15Phil³ = „ p. 247. 29Phil⁴ = „ p. 215. 18

Greek	Ο θεος	τον εαυτου υιον	πεμψας
Pesh	ܡܥܕ	ܠܚܕܐ	—
Phil ¹⁻⁴	„	„	—
O	—	ܡܥܕ ܠܚܕܐ ܡܥܕ	ܡܥܕ
Greek	εν ομοιωματι	σαρκος	αμαρτιας και ¹ περι αμαρτιας
Pesh	ܡܥܕܐܠܐ	ܠܚܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐܠܐ om. ܡܥܕܐܠܐ ܠܚܕܐ
Phil ¹	„	„	om. „
— 2	„	„	ܡܥܕܐܠܐ
— 3	„	„	ܡܥܕܐܠܐ ܠܚܕܐ
— 4	„	„	„
O	ܡܥܕܐܠܐ	„	„
Greek	κατεκριθεν	την αμαρτιαν	εν τη σαρκι
Pesh	ܡܥܕܐܠܐ	ܠܚܕܐ	ܡܥܕܐܠܐ
Phil ³	„	„	„
Phil ⁴	ܡܥܕܐܠܐ	„	ܡܥܕܐܠܐ
O	„	„	< „ > ²

¹ και] *et* om. vulg^w, Ambst.² Omisit O; supplevit White monente Wetstein.

render the participle by a main verb, and, in accordance with a basic law of Semitic syntax, to put it at the beginning of the sentence. The Greek predicate he transformed into a finite clause in order to preserve the original interdependence of the two verbs. This in turn involved dropping the preceding *κα*. Besides, Pesh understood *ἐν τῇ σαρκί* to refer to the Son of God and therefore rendered it 'in His flesh'. The resulting sentence runs: 'misit deus filium suum . . . , propter peccatum ut condemnaret peccatum in carne sua.'

O removes all traces of the liberties taken by Pesh. The participle is rendered, as is the rule in the Harklean, by a subordinate clause (*cum . . . mitteret*). Thereafter the connecting particle (*et*) as well as the main verb (*condemnavit*) have been restored. The (highly problematical) words 'and for the sake of sin'¹ are by now just as difficult to construct in the Syriac as they are in Greek.

¹ Om. v. Soden α 1066 and 65 = Gregory 1836 and 1912.

Also the insertion of the letter jod in the rendering of ἐν ὁμοιώματι is anything but accidental. In accordance with *D^{muta}* being the Harklean equivalent for μορφή¹ and μόρφωσις,² *admuta* in the Harklean serves for ἐν μορφῇ³ and besides, with *h* prefixed, for the numerous instances of the adverb ὁμοίως.⁴ Consequently another equivalent was needed for ἐν ὁμοιώματι. Hence the form with additional jod (of philosophical flavour, and used elsewhere especially for Greek ὁμοιότης) is found wherever the Harklean rendering of ἐν ὁμοιώματι is preserved.⁵

In view of such μικροφιλοτιμία White was surely right in restoring the equivalent, omitted in O, of ἐν τῇ σαρκί without the *eshitta* suffix: no Greek manuscript justified this addition. The correction is already in Phil⁴.

Philoxenus in no instance anticipates the cumbrous Harklean reproduction of the Greek participle πέμψας; nor does he strive to distinguish between the renderings of ἐν μορφῇ and ἐν ὁμοιώματι; nor does he render, as does O, the pronoun before νίόν by the lengthy derivative of *d'il*.⁶ But the Greek καί, omitted by Pesh, is reintroduced in all but one of his quotations, while the Harklean rendering of περὶ ἁμαρτίας is anticipated in two of them. Phil⁴ is identical with O but for its oddest peculiarities; it effects a sentence much nearer to the Greek than is Pesh, yet one that is smooth and idiomatic where the Harklean all but defies grammatical analysis. The mixed forms Phil¹⁻³ may be due to the Pesh being present in the mind of the writer.

Another passage from Romans which has served as a proof-text in many dogmatical controversies, 9. 5, is quoted by Philoxenus in full only once; yet two other occasional references admit some control (see Exh. IV). Pesh is particularly free here, inserting a verb (*apparuit*) at the beginning, thereafter changing

¹ Phil. 2. 7.

² Rom. 2. 30, 3. 5; but hardly ever for εἶδος. O is probably wrong in giving this word at Lk. 3. 22, all other instances intimating that in rendering εἶδος and ἰδέα the Harklean strove to bring out the etymological relation with ἰδεῖν. *D^{muta}* is a gloss on, rather than the translation of, ἰδέα in the marginal note 2 Cor. 5. 7.

³ Mk. 16. 12; Phil. 2. 6.

⁴ This artifice is foreign to the Peshitta as well as to the Crawford (Philoxenian) Apocalypse; it recurs in de Dieu's Apocalypse (the 'Harklean') 2. 15 and 8. 12; cf. J. Gwynn, *The Apocalypse* . . ., 1897, Notes, p. 45.

⁵ Rom. 5. 14, 6. 5, 8. 3; Phil. 2. 7. At Rom. 1. 3 codex O has the form without jod, clearly under the influence of Pesh. The choice word is used also for ὁμοιότης Hebr. 7. 15, whence it probably ought to be restored.

⁶ 4. 15.

⁷ Cf. above on Exhibit II.

Another passage from Romans may be added here. It is cited by Philoxenus only once, but in a form too characteristic to be attributed to mere chance:

Exhibit V

Rom. 10. 17

Phil = Philoxenus, p. 194. 27

Greek	H	πιστις	εξ	ακοης		
Pesh	—	ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ	ܡܢ	ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ	ܡܢ	ܡܢ
Phil	—	”	”	ܡܢܬܐ	om.	”
)	ܡܢ	”	”	”	om.	om.
Greek	η	δε	ακοη	δια	ρηματος	θεου ¹
Pesh	ܐ	—	ܡܢܬܐ	ܡܢ	ܡܢܬܐ	ܡܢܬܐ
Phil	om.	—	ܡܢܬܐ	om.	”	”
)	ܡܢ	ܡܢ	”	om.	—	”

¹ θεου] χριστου 1739, al.

Here Phil has paved the way for the Harklean by expelling the twofold Pesh addition *aurium* and by introducing the Syriac synonym for Greek ἀέ. Particularly remarkable is the unanimity of Phil and O in replacing the Pesh equivalent for ἀκοή by a different derivative. The motive of this change is not obvious. The fact, however, is that *šem'a* is the Harklean equivalent for Greek ἀκοή where the latter does not mean 'ear'; it is used also II Pet. 2. 8, in agreement with the 'Pococke version' which Gwynn regarded as Philoxenian.

It was left for the Harklean to super-add the rendering of the two Greek articles, to strike out the minute intimation, in Pesh, of a predicate not prefigured in the Greek, and to stress the difference between the two Greek prepositions by introducing his standard equivalent for διὰ, *b'jad*. Not that this equivalent was unknown to Phil. Only he was not a pedant like Thomas of Harkel. But he actually introduced it in the two following specimens:

Exhibit VI

Rom. 5. 10

Phil = Philoxenus, p. 215. 14

Greek		Εχθροι	οντες	κατηλλαγημεν	τω θεω
Pesh	ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ	ܡܢܬܐ	—	ܡܢܬܐ	ܡܢܬܐ
Phil	”	”	—	ܡܢܬܐ	ܡܢܬܐ
)	”	”	ܡܢܬܐ	ܡܢܬܐ	”

Greek	δια	του	θανατου	του	υιου	αυτου
Pesh		ܕܠܗ		ܕܝܗ		
Phil	ܕܡ	ܕܠܗ		ܕܝܗ		
O	ܕܡ	ܕܝܗ	ܕܝܗ	ܕܝܗ	ܕܝܗ	ܕܝܗ

Pesh almost suggests an original κατηλλάγη ἡμῖν ὁ θεός. Pesh removes this source of misunderstanding and gives the pre-equivalent for the following preposition (Pesh would suggest Little then was left to be done by the Harklean reviser: viz. adapt the word order, at the beginning, to the Greek; to strengthen the personal termination of the main verb, and to render the Greek pronoun in that cumbrous way which Phil usually avoids.

Immediately afterwards Phil and O agree in interpreting O and the same Greek variant reading differently from Pesh:

Exhibit VII

Rom. 5. 11

Phil = Philoxenus, p. 215. 20

Greek	καυχώμεθα	ἰ	ἐν	τῷ	θεῷ	διὰ	τοῦ	κυρίου	ἡμῶν	ἰησ
Pesh	ܕܝܗܠܗ		ܕܠܗܠܗ		ܕܡ		ܕܝܗ			ܕܝܗ
Phil	ܕܝܗܠܗܝܢ	ܕܡ	ܕܝܗܠܗ	ܕܡ	ܕܝܗ	ܕܝܗ	ܕܝܗ	ܕܝܗ	ܕܝܗ	ܕܝܗ
O	ܕܝܗܠܗܝܢ	ܕܡ	ܕܝܗܠܗ	ܕܡ	ܕܝܗ	ܕܝܗ	ܕܝܗ	ܕܝܗ	ܕܝܗ	ܕܝܗ
Greek	χριστου	δι'	ου	νυν	την	καταλλαγην				ελαβομε
Pesh	ܕܡܝܬܐ	ܕܝܗ	ܕܝܗ	ܕܝܗ		ܕܝܗ				ܕܝܗ
Phil	ܕܡ	ܕܝܗܝܢ	ܕܝܗ	ܕܝܗ		ܕܝܗ				ܕܝܗ
O	ܕܡ	ܕܝܗܝܢ	ܕܝܗ	ܕܝܗ		ܕܝܗ				ܕܝܗ

¹ καυχώμενοι 1739, al.

Pesh read καυχώμεθα, understood it as a subjunctive, and therefore rendered it by the future. Phil, and like him the Harklean, recognize the present indicative which they both render in the orthodox way, by a participle (a Greek participle which they would have made a subordinate clause, introduced by *kad*). The personal termination is rendered in O, here as in the preceding Exhibit, by a suffix, while Phil expresses it by a separate pronoun. The former method is adopted by both in rendering ἐλάβομεν at the end of the sentence. The opening of the relative clause is brought nearer to the Greek, both by Phil and O, by means of *b'jad*, the typical equivalent for *dia*. The Philoxenian rendering, however, when interpreted on the rigid Harklean lines, would correspond with Greek *ὅτι δι' αὐτοῦ*. O replaces it by the stereotyped Harklean equivalent for *δι' αὐτοῦ*.

hereafter O changes the word order in accordance with the Greek, introducing its stock equivalent for λαμβάνω (*qbal* being served for Greek δέχομαι), and once more reproduces the clitic pronoun, after τοῦ κυρίου, by means of *d'il*.

The following three examples are from Acts.

Exhibit VIII

Acts 9. 15

Phil = Philoxenus, p. 213. 8

= consensus codd. O et C(ambr. Add. 1700), et Jacob. Edess. (*Patr. Or.* vi. 170)

Greek	Πορευου	οτι	σκευος		εκλογης	εστι	μοι
Pesh	ܡܝܢ	ܡܝܢ	ܡܝܢ	ܡܝܢ	ܡܝܢ	ܡܝܢ	ܡܝܢ
Nil	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
	"	"	"	—	ܡܝܢ	ܡܝܢ	ܡܝܢ
Greek	ουτος	του	βαστασαι	το	ονομα	μου	ενωπιον
Pesh	—	ܡܝܢ	ܡܝܢ	ܡܝܢ	ܡܝܢ	ܡܝܢ	ܡܝܢ
Nil	ܡܝܢ	"	"	"	"	"	"
	"	ܡܝܢ	ܡܝܢ	ܡܝܢ	ܡܝܢ	"	"
Greek	και	βασιλεων		υιων	τε	ισραηλ	
Pesh	ܡܝܢ	ܡܝܢ	ܡܝܢ	ܡܝܢ	ܡܝܢ	ܡܝܢ	ܡܝܢ
Nil	"	ܡܝܢ	"	om.	"	—	"
	"	"	"	om.	ܡܝܢ	—	ܡܝܢ

¹ ܡܝܢ O] ܡܝܢ, voluerunt C et Jac. Ed. (ܡܝܢ C, ܡܝܢ, Jac. Ed.).

Here for once the evidence for the Harklean is not confined to the Oxford MS. I propose at another place to enlarge upon the conclusions arising, with regard to the textual history of the Harklean Acts, from the juxtaposition of the three witnesses, O, C, and James of Edessa.¹ The present passage happens to be beset with particular intricacies. In the present context I must confine myself to a précis of the proposed detailed consideration.

Pesh here is a perfect rendering of the original as to its sense. If assessed on the Harklean principles it would appear to stand for . . . ὅτι σκεῦος ὄλε (or, less verbally, ἐστίν) μοι ἐκλεκτόν, ὃς οἶσει ἐν ὀνόματι μου ἐν ἔθνεσι καὶ ἐν βασιλεῦσι καὶ μετὰ υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ. It was not is that Thomas found in his 'very accurate and approved Greek copy'. He proceeded to edit the Syriac in a form commensurate with his standards of precision. Phil—supposing that it represents the basis of the Harklean edition—had already

¹ Cf. W. D. McHardy, *J.T.S.*, xliii, 1942, 168.

made several steps in the same direction; striking out additional prepositions, adding an omitted pronoun, and introducing the proper equivalent for ἐνώπιον. As regards the rendering of βασιτάσαι, the conflicting evidence of the Harklean witnesses cannot be ascribed to corruption in either branch of the tradition. Both renderings are compatible with the Harklean standard, both use its normal equivalent of Greek βασιτάζω, and neither echoes Pesh. Thus it becomes probable that the two readings were both in the archetype. The rendering attested by C^J is intermediary between Pesh and O, the grammatical form being a future as in the former, while the verb actually used is that of Harklean. This reading, then, is likely to be earlier than the alternative one in O. *Ex hypothesi*, C^J is Polycarp and Thomas. The reading preserved in the former two was in the text of the authoritative Harklean exemplar, while O preserves Thomas's marginal correction.

This hypothesis derives some support from the Crawford Apocalypse, which J. Gwynn regarded as Philoxenian; for there βασιτάζω is rendered throughout by the Harklean, and not by the Peshitta, verb.¹ Philoxenus himself, however, in the very detail echoes Pesh and thus withholds the desired confirmation. It is arguable that he reintroduced the Pesh variation into his quotation from Polycarp's version. He has already been found doing this when alluding to Rom. 9. 5 (see above Exhibit IV).

In addition to the alterations of Pesh extant already in PH the Harklean introduces the following approximations to the Greek. At the beginning the substantive verb is rendered by its standard equivalent; a noun, instead of the adjective of Pesh, represents ἐκλογῆς, and the word order is made to conform with the original. Thereafter the normal Harklean rendering of βασιτάζω has been introduced or at least, if the hypothesis just hazarded is accepted, transformed into an infinitive. Finally the accusative ὄνομα followed by the enclitic μοῦ, as well as the genitive Ἰσραήλ at the end, are given in the usual Harklean way. The characteristic difference between the text quoted by Philoxenus and the Harklean stands out here as clearly as even the former has 'the merit of faithfulness without sacrificing the propriety of the Syriac tongue', while the latter 'systematically does violence to the Syriac in forcing it into verbal conformity with the Greek'.²

¹ Apoc. 2. 2, 2. 3, 17. 1.

² Quoted from J. Gwynn, *Remnants . . .*, i, 1909, Introduction, p. xxxiii.

Exhibit IX

Acts 10. 38

Phil = Philoxenus, p. 44. 9

Greek	Ἰησοῦν	τον	απο	ναζαρεθ	ως ¹
Pesh	ܝܫܘܥ	ܕ	ܡܢ	ܢܥܪܬ ܢܙܪܬ	ܕܗܘܐ
Phil	om. ³	”	”	”	” —
	om. ܝܫܘܥ	”	”	”	” —
Greek	ἐχρισεν αὐτον ¹	ο θεος	πνευματι ²	αγιω	
Pesh	ܥܡܥܥܐ	—	ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ	ܕܩܕܝܫ	
Phil	”	ܕܐܠܗܐ	”	”	
	”	”	”	ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ	

¹ ως ἐχρισεν αὐτον] οὐ ἐχρισεν D, Basilii; *quem unxit* a, gig, perp, tol, must, Fulg.

² ἐν πνευματι E, L, 69, 98, 216, 915 (sec. v. Soden); *in spiritu* e.

³ Non erat cur praepositionem redderet Phil.

This passage affords a striking example of the interaction of Semitic and Greek speech both in the formation and transmission of the text; it also shows Phil and the Harklean jointly altering Pesh, probably in order to bring it into accordance with a different Greek standard. K. Lake has shown by a minute discussion¹ that no satisfactory sense can be extracted from the original wording on the basis of Greek idiom. But translation into the Aramaic affords a clue. This has been shown, for the whole passage 10. 36–8, by C. C. Torrey.² In the present Exhibit the crucial words *ὡς ἔχρισεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός* are understandable as the literal rendering of an Aramaic clause practically identical (but for the word order) with Pesh. On this basis *ὡς* (equalling *ὅτι*) would be the rendering of that well-known trouble-maker, the particle *de* (*di*), *αὐτόν* representing the pronominal suffix which is necessitated by the proleptic position of the object 'Jesus'. The intended sense then would be: '(you know . . .) that³ God anointed Jesus'. As they stand in the Peshitta, these words may just as well be understood to imply the Greek *ὃν ἔχρισεν ὁ θεός*. The possibility cannot be ruled out that this wording actually lay before Pesh⁴; in any case its actual occurrence in codex Bezae and the Old Latin suggests a

¹ *The Beginnings of Christianity*, iv, 1933, 119.

² *The Composition and Date of Acts*, 1916, 27 and 35.

³ Cf. *ὡς* after *ἐπίστασθαι* in Acts 10. 28, 20. 20, and after *μνησθῆναι* and similar verbs in Acts 11. 16 (cf. *ὅτι* 20. 35); Lk. 22. 61, 24. 6.

⁴ Yet Pesh. renders *ὡς* by *de* in Lk. 22. 61, 24. 6; Acts 10. 28, 11. 16.

Semitic prototype. In the present context, however, it is important to notice that both Phil and O, by prefixing the pronoun here witness to an original identical with D. They also agree in altering the word order, O alone introducing the Harklean standard rendering of 'the Holy Spirit'.

In quoting Acts 28. 27 Philoxenus at first agrees with the Peshitta. But in the end he deviates from it in a characteristic fashion:

Exhibit X

Acts 28. 27

Phil = Philoxenus, p. 219. 5

Greek	. . .	και	επιστρεψουσιν		και	ιασομαι	αυτοι
Pesh	◦	ܟܝܐ	ܚܝܠܝܢ	ܟܝܐ	◦	ܝܥܫܝܐ	ܐܘܬܝܪܝܢ
Phil	„	ܟܝܐ	ܚܝܠܝܢ	ܚܝܠܝܢ	„	ܝܥܫܝܐ	ܐܘܬܝܪܝܢ
O	„	„	om.	om.	„	ܝܥܫܝܐ	„

Pesh here has two peculiarities not noticed, as far as I know in any collation: it adds 'to me', to 'turn back',¹ and replaces 'heal' by 'remit', from Mk. 4. 12. The addition Philoxenus replaces by 'to the Lord', effecting a phrase that has many analogies in the Old and New Testaments.² This is one of those changes which may well be ascribed to 'fancy'. Otherwise Phil anticipates the alterations of O. The verb which Pesh here used for ἐπιστρέφω is in the Harklean confined to the notion of μετανοέω of which it is the sole representative also in the Old Syriac and Peshitta—hence the first alteration in Phil and O. Both agree also in eliminating the Marcan verb. Phil, however, had to give it in the third person because of the addition preceding it.

The last instance to be quoted in full from the *De Uno* is

Exhibit XI

Luke 2. 21-2

Phil = Philoxenus, p. 265. 31

Greek	Και	οτε	επλησθησαν		ημεραι	οκτω
Pesh	◦	ܡܝ	ܡܠܝܬܝܗܘܢ	ܠܝܬܝܗܘܢ	ܡܠܝܬܝܗܘܢ	—
Phil	„	„	ܡܠܝܬܝܗܘܢ	—	ܡܠܝܬܝܗܘܢ	ܡܠܝܬܝܗܘܢ
O	„	„	„	—	„ ¹	„

¹ ܡܠܝܬܝܗܘܢ add. O marg; cf. αἱ ἡμέραι (αἱ) D, fam. 13, Euseb. alii.

² This addition was prefigured in Jer. 4. 1, cf. 24. 7; Ezek. 26. 2; Neh. 1. 1 (= II. Esdr. 11. 9 LXX). For the original Isaiah passage 6. 10 it is recorded only from the Bohairic version.

³ See Is. 19. 22; Acts 9. 35, 11. 21; 2 Cor. 3. 16.

reek	του περιτεμειν αυτον ²	και ³	εκληθη	το ονομα αυτου		
esh	ܬܘܡܝܬܝܢ ܐܘܬܘܢ	—	ܬܠܝܬܐ	ܬܘܡܝܬܐ		
hil	ܬܘܡܝܬܝܢܐ	—	ܬܠܝܬܐ	ܬܘܡܝܬܐ		
	”	—	om.	”		
reek	ιησους	το	κληθεν	υπο	του αγγελου	προ
esh	ܝܫܘܥ	—	ܬܠܝܬܐ	ܬܠܝܬܐ	ܬܠܝܬܐ	ܬܠܝܬܐ
hil	”	”	”	”	”	”
	”	”	”	”	”	”
reek	του συλληφθηναι αυτον	εν τη κοιλιᾳ	22 και	οτε		
esh	ܬܠܝܬܐ	ܬܠܝܬܐ	”	”		
hil	”	”	”	”		
	”	”	”	”		
reek	επλησθησαν	αι ημεραι	του καθαρισμου αυτων ⁵	κτλ.		
esh	ܬܠܝܬܐ	ܬܠܝܬܐ	ܬܠܝܬܐ	—		
hil	”	”	”	—		
	”	”	”	”		

² αυτον] το παιδιον D, fam. 13, ‘al permu’ (Tischendorf).

³ και om. D, Θ, fam. 13 (et 16, 565, 990, 1216, 1279, 1604 sec. von Soden); latini.

⁴ The omission is due to the context of the quotation and has no textual significance.

⁵ αυτων om. Iren. (om. etiam κατα . . . μουσεως) al; αυτου D, eius a, b, e, f.

Phil and O unanimously reform some special features which Pesh had inherited from the Old Syriac. In v. 21 both give the usual equivalent for the passive ἐπλήσθησαν as it is found so in Pesh in v. 22; both change the more common word order of ‘eight days’ in accordance with the Greek, and reject the variant reading τὸ παιδίον. Moreover, both insist on expressing the article in τὸ κληθέν and the pluperfect character of the infinitive συλληφθῆναι. Yet Phil in two cases reflects the Greek text different from the *Vorlagen* of the other two: it reserved the un-Greek καί in v. 21, and in v. 22 omitted the pronoun after καθαρισμοῦ.¹ These peculiarities were not covered by the test-copies used by Thomas. Besides rejecting them O has only one trait of its own, viz. the wearisome Harklean way of rendering the pronouns αὐτοῦ and αὐτῶν.

Phil continues the quotation to the end of v. 23. The three

¹ The omission, in O, of καί may be due to the influence of Pesh.

versions agreeing almost completely, it was not worth while to copy this passage. There are in it two small variants which again Phil sides with O: at the beginning of v. 23 the render καθώς by *aikana*, against *aik* Pesh; at the end the replace the particle *de* by *le*: Pesh to them suggested κυρίου instead of the original dative. Besides, O alone, against its custom, in v. 23 adds a suffix to a noun governing a genitive.

On a few other passages it will be enough to comment briefly. The twofold quotation from Mt. 1. 18 which formed the second exhibit runs on until v. 20. There, as before, Phil agrees with Pesh, but for the occurrence in one of these citations of the Harklean rendering of 'the Holy Spirit' which at several other places was found to be absent from Phil. Also the next verse (21) is quoted twice.¹ Here the Harklean and Pesh are substantially identical but for some instances, in the former, that pedantry which has been sufficiently shown to be alien to Phil, such as the rendering of Greek pronouns. There is, however, in this verse one substantial difference between Pesh and O, namely in the rendering of σῶζειν. The former uses the typical older translation by means of the verb 'to (make) live'. This has been replaced in O by the Harklean standard equivalent *peraq*. Phil herein agrees with O.

From St. John, Philoxenus quotes five times² 1. 14 'And the word became flesh and dwelt among us'. This is identical in the Peshitta and Harklean, but for the reproduction, in the latter, of the article before 'word'. It is remarkable that Phil does the same in all five cases.³ This procedure is not usual with Phil. It was probably suggested by the precedent of the Old Syriac and the Peshitta in Jn. 1. 1.⁴

The passage, from Romans 6. 6, about 'our old man crucified' is quoted three times⁵ with the words of Pesh; a fourth time

¹ Pp. 49. 9 and 216. 7.

² Pp. 120. 7, 143. 13, 170. 5, 239. 24, 242. 5. The same passage is quoted in the *Teleda-letter*, p. 456 Guidi (above, p. 40, note 3). There, strangely enough, Philoxenus uses the Old Syriac equivalent for σάρξ, *pegra* (below). The possibility of occasional Old Syriac influence upon his biblical references may also be considered in the *De Uno*, p. 220. 9 (Jn. 3. 16) and p. 171. 28 = 265. 22 (Lk. 2. 7).

³ Not, however, in the brief reference p. 171. 2.

⁴ Cf. F. C. Burkitt, *Evang. da Meph.* ii. 306 f.

⁵ *Discourses*, ed. Budge, i, p. 303; *Teleda-letter*, p. 464 Guidi; *De Uno*, p. 162. 3.

⁶ *De Uno*, p. 164. 21.

th the synonym (*slab*) which the Harklean uses exclusively *σταυροῦν*. Had Phil, or rather had his translator, already achieved this standardization? A different solution seems possible. The Harklean word is perfectly good Syriac and is actually used in the Peshitta in other passages. Philoxenus may himself have introduced it into this one passage. Similar suggestions may perhaps be possible with regard to one other from among the instances here adduced. Yet the general conclusion appears to be unavoidable: behind these Philoxenian citations there lies a definite text, different from, and intermediate between, the Peshitta and the Harklean. How else is one to explain the outstanding character of these variant readings? Wherever Phil differs from Pesh he agrees with the Harklean; and where, within these passages, a Harklean rendering is avoided, it is one of that extreme Graecizing character which disfigures the work of Thomas. From these principles there results a text very near to the Greek yet unboiled in its idiom, and far too well defined to be attributed to mere chance and fancy.

But if this conclusion is granted, at least provisionally, how is one to account for the highly sporadic nature of these citations? Why has the great majority of biblical passages been quoted from the Peshitta? The question is anything but easy. One could reject at once the idea that an originally pure Peshitta text had subsequently been sprinkled with readings from another version, for *cui bono*? The opposite assumption may perhaps appear to be less improbable. A text of limited currency may indeed be worked over, and be adapted to the ecclesiastical standard, to such an extent as to lose its original character almost completely. Examples are at hand: the LXX quotations in the manuscripts of Philo and Josephus; the 'conflated' Byzantine manuscripts of the New Testament; the many manuscripts of the Latin Vulgate in which an Old Latin basis is still just traceable. The formidable objection against this hypothesis is the fact that the manuscript of the *De Uno* dates from A.D. 564. The assumption that so thorough a revision should have been carried out so soon after the production of the original would be precarious indeed. It could perhaps be supported by a reference to the textual history of *De Regula Benedicti*. But it is certainly easier to assume that the conflation of the two texts is original. Philoxenus had grown up with the Peshitta. In his later age he had encouraged its production, and furthered the circulation, of the new

version. It would not be unnatural if, in quoting the Sacred Text, he had drawn upon both alternately, and sometimes even blended them together.

This is only a tentative suggestion. If it were considered still ought not to be used in support of the assumption that 'Philoxenian' text was in fact the Harklean and that the minor deviations from the latter in the *De Uno* are the result of conflation. If that were so, there ought to occur at least one unmistakably 'Harklean' citation in Philoxenus. Again, the actual quotations are of a character too clearly defined to allow an hypothesis like this.

This same character stands out also in some other fragments of the truly 'Philoxenian' text. They have been known a long time. But perhaps the preceding considerations will serve to put them into a clearer light.

(3) *Fragments in Vat. Syr. 152*

In 1828 Dr. (later Cardinal) Wiseman published the first and only volume of his *Horae Syriacae*. A large section of it deals with Cod. Vat. Syr. 153 (now 152), dated A.D. 980. This is a manuscript of the *Traditio Carcaphensis*, so called from the monastery Qarqaphta near Rešaina, some fifty miles east of Carrhae. Students there compiled lists of words and passages, mainly in the Peshitta, the orthography and pronunciation of which called for fixation. These lists are arranged in the order of the texts to which they refer. In the margin are various readings from different manuscripts, and sometimes from different versions. Wiseman published five such notes.¹ Since though they are, their importance in the present context is supreme. For they contain the only definite references to the biblical text of Philoxenus (his name is three times given in its original form 'Mari Aksenaja', while twice the Graecizing form 'Philoxenus' is transcribed). It has been argued² that the citations may have been extracted from the writings of Philoxenus. A procedure like this has indeed been adopted, with regard to Origen, by the Caesarean scholar whose work is in part preserved in the 'Codex von der Goltz'³; but among

¹ l.c., p. 178, note 11.

² By J. Lebon, in *Revue d'hist. ecclés.* xii, 1911, 413 ff. The unfortunate *parti-pris* and hypercriticism of this article were censured in *Revue bibl.*, ix, 1912, 141 (by Père Lagrange?), and refuted by H. L. Delaporte, *ib.* 3.

³ First published in *Texte und Untersuch.*, N.F. ii, 1899; now in *Hartmann Theol. Studies*, xvii, 1932.

rian Massorettes it would be strange and unique. But even if the ultra-sceptical suggestion were adopted, the main conclusion would remain unaffected. The text preserved in these scholia, as will be seen presently, has the very characteristics which have just been discerned in the *De Uno*. This text Philoxenus did not invent. He must have drawn it from a definite version. This version may justly be called 'Philonian'. From it, then, derive the notes in Wiseman's codex, either indirectly or, far more probably, directly.

One of them is of paramount importance because it quotes, not only 'Mari Aksenaja' but also Har(klaja). The latter is identical with White's text, while the former is not, but takes its place between 'Pesh' and 'O'.

Exhibit XII

II Cor. 10. 4

reek	Τα γὰρ ὀπλά	τῆς στρατίας	ἡμῶν	οὐ	σαρκικά
sh	ⲧⲁ ⲕⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲣⲁ	ⲧⲉⲥ ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧⲓⲁⲥ	ⲏⲙⲟⲩ	ⲟⲩ	ⲥⲁⲣⲕⲓⲕⲁ
il	ⲧⲁ ⲕⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲣⲁ	ⲧⲉⲥ ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧⲓⲁⲥ	ⲏⲙⲟⲩ	ⲟⲩ	ⲥⲁⲣⲕⲓⲕⲁ
arkl'	ⲧⲁ ⲕⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲣⲁ	ⲧⲉⲥ ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧⲓⲁⲥ	ⲏⲙⲟⲩ	ⲟⲩ	ⲥⲁⲣⲕⲓⲕⲁ
	ⲧⲁ ⲕⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲣⲁ	ⲧⲉⲥ ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧⲓⲁⲥ	ⲏⲙⲟⲩ	ⲟⲩ	ⲥⲁⲣⲕⲓⲕⲁ
reek	ἀλλὰ	δυνάτα			
sh	ⲁⲗⲗⲁ	ⲧⲁⲕⲁⲧⲁ			
il	cetera non scripta sunt in codice Vaticano				
arkl'	ⲁⲗⲗⲁ	ⲧⲁⲕⲁⲧⲁ			
	ⲁⲗⲗⲁ	ⲧⲁⲕⲁⲧⲁ			

Once again Phil is found to have paved the way for Thomas. He already considered the pronoun important enough to be rendered by the independent form and made a distinction between the rendering of the Greek adjective σαρκικός and of the noun σὰρξ in the preceding verses. Both changes were adopted by Thomas.¹ It was left for him to replace the lengthened form of the negation by an alternative one. As stood in Pesh and Phil it might have suggested an auxiliary verb in the original.

The Harklean is not quoted in the other scholia. Nor is this necessary for the present purpose. The comparison with White's text shows that Phil is not identical with it.

It is therefore probable that the rendering also of the following δυνατά as an adjective was anticipated in the source of Phil.

Exhibit XIII

Eph. 6. 12

Greek	ὅτι		οὐκ	ἐστὶν	ἡμῖν ¹	ἡ	πάλη	πρὸς
Pesh	ܡܕܢܐ ?	ܡܥܥܝܠܐ	ܐܠ	ܝܥܝ	—	—		ܡܥܥܝܠܐ
Phil	”	”	—	ܐܠ	ܡܥܥܝܠܐ	ܡܥܥܝܠܐ	ܡܥܥܝܠܐ	ܡܥܥܝܠܐ
O	”	”	—	ܐܠ	ܡܥܥܝܠܐ	”	ܡܥܥܝܠܐ	ܡܥܥܝܠܐ
Greek	αἷμα	καὶ	σάρκα					
Pesh	ܡܥܥܝܠܐ	ܐܠ	ܡܥܥܝܠܐ					
Phil	”	”	”					
O	ܡܥܥܝܠܐ	”	ܡܥܥܝܠܐ					

¹ ἡμῖν 1739, plerique] ὑμῖν B, D, al.

If an opinion were to be based on this passage alone, P and O might conceivably be supposed to have no relation whatever. It is therefore fortunate that there are instances where the two are much nearer to each other. Yet the same well-known stylistic tendencies are at work in both these varieties. Translating with its usual freedom, Pesh had here left ample scope for correctors; besides, its Greek original was vitiated by the widespread itacism ὑμῖν for ἡμῖν. This Polycarp corrected and touched up the rest in his customary circumspect manner, rendering the negative auxiliary verb by the proper Syriac equivalent which he put into the appropriate place; giving the dative of the pronoun a nearer equivalent than was the one used by Pesh; and replacing the preposition by one nearer to the original (the one used by Pesh suggesting *μετά* rather than *πρός*). Thomas, however, was only partly satisfied. ‘Flesh and blood’ was not the order extant in the Greek, so he transposed the two nouns; οὐκ ἐστὶν being two separate words he felt driven to render accordingly (the distinction, though, is merely orthographical and far from being an embellishment). But in rendering the subject noun he really succeeded in getting close to the Greek: the word which Phil had retained from Pesh denoting ‘fight’ generally, Thomas replaced later by a noun more specially conveying the atmosphere of the *gymnasium*.¹

In XIV nearly all the work had been done for Thomas already by his predecessor: he had placed the equivalent of Greek γὰρ where it was in the original and amplified the Pesh rendering of ἦτε which otherwise, according to the Harklean system of equation, would have suggested ἐγένεσθε (Thomas, though, four

¹ Also in Ephrem (quoted in the *Thesaurus*) this word is found in correspondence with Greek πάλη.

Exhibit XIV

Rom. 6. 20

Greek	Οτε	γαρ	δουλοι	ητε	της	αμαρτιας
Pesh	ܡ	—	ܡܚܠܐ	ܡܚܠܐ	ܡܚܠܐ	ܡܚܠܐ
Phil	”	ܡܚܠܐ	—	”	—	ܡܚܠܐ
	”	”	ܡܚܠܐ	”	”	—
Greek	ελευθεροι		ητε	τη	δικαιοσυνη	
Pesh	ܡܚܠܐ		ܡܚܠܐ	ܡܚܠܐ	ܡܚܠܐ	
Phil	”		”	ܡܚܠܐ	ܡܚܠܐ	
	”		ܡܚܠܐ	”	”	

necessary to add *itkun* also at the place of its second occurrence, where Phil had left it to be understood). Also the exclusive Harklean equivalent for δικαιοσύνη is found already in Phil; and yet the Pesh rendering is, in itself, perfectly appropriate. Polycarp, however, had also placed together the two words 'Gaves of sin'. Thomas separated them in accordance with the Greek.

The remaining two massoretic notes concern the rendering of single Greek words. There is a lesson even in them.

Exhibit XV

I Cor. 1. 28

Greek	Τα	εξουθενημενα
Pesh		ܡܚܠܐ
Phil	ܡܚܠܐ	ܡܚܠܐ
O	ܡܚܠܐ	ܡܚܠܐ

¹ Pronomen fuisse in Phil testis est, particula.

where an alteration introduced by Polycarp has been rejected by Thomas. The verb *mak* he had made the sole representative of Greek ταπεινός; he therefore would not have it here for εξουθενέω. So he returned to the Peshitta.¹ And yet Phil had, at least in part, anticipated the Harklean revision. Here in Luke 2. 21 τὸ κληθέν (Exhibit XI; cf. IV and IX) he had deavoured to render the Greek article prefixed to a participle, and that by the same device as Thomas.

The last scholion, in compensation, shows 'Mar Xenaja' giving the unrestricted approval of Thomas.

The *aphel* of *sla* is used for εξουθενέω also Acts 4. 11 (= Pesh.) and Gal. 14; elsewhere the Greek verb is represented by *šāth*. The purpose of this variation I do not know. Nor can I see what fault Phil found with the verb in Pesh.

Exhibit XVI

II Cor. 7. 13

Greek Παρακεκλημεθα

Pesh ܡܕܚܠܡܐ

Phil ܡܕܚܠܡܐ

O

”

The Greek perfect passive Pesh had rendered by the appropriate participle. This rendering, however, left the Greek personal termination unrepresented. The usual Harklean procedure (which is also that of Paul of Tella in the Old Testament) would have been to add the personal pronoun. But Phil and Thomas agree in ascribing an aorist force to this Greek perfect and render it accordingly.³

D. TRACES OF THE PHILOXENIAN TEXT IN PRE-HARKLEAN WRITINGS

Thomas of Harkel edited the Philoxenian version. A Philoxenian text is quoted in the marginal scholia of the Vatican massorah; it is different from the Harklean yet nearer to than is the Peshitta. Traces of a text of the same character have been discerned in one of the writings of Philoxenus himself. It is very difficult not to identify the version from which the quotations were taken with the Philoxenian from A.D. 508 which later on was edited by Thomas. If this conclusion is drawn, the ‘editing’ by Thomas must be acknowledged to have been thorough indeed.

If it is rejected, on the assumption that the Philoxeniana used by Thomas was practically identical with the Harklean, then two Philoxenian texts must be supposed to have existed, in addition to the Peshitta on which the bishop of Mabug relied predominantly. The one just traced would have to be regarded as a preliminary attempt, a *Vorstudie* speedily replaced by the second Philoxenian text which was to be reissued in A.D. 610. This (alleged) final Philoxenian version would appear to have led a shadowy existence for more than a hundred years, awaiting the revitalizing labours of Thomas of Harkel.

¹ Cf. Skat Rørdam, *Libri Judicum et Ruth sec. vers. Syro-Hexaplae* 1861, 36.

² This is in accordance with the tendency, in later Greek, towards obliterating the original distinction between the two tenses; cf. in cod. Alexandrinus, at I Thess. 3. 7, the variant reading παρακεκλημεθα for παρεκληθημεν.

³ For parallels see Sk. Rørdam, l.c., p. 38. The Harklean has the same form as here for the aorist in I Thess. 3. 7 (see preceding note).

An hypothesis like this stands in need of supporting evidence. If this 'second Philoxenian text' ever existed it must have left a mark somewhere; if not in the works of Philoxenus himself, then in some other relic of the rich Syriac literature of the sixth century. Only a fraction of this literature has so far been published. Even this fraction the present writer cannot claim to have studied with due thoroughness. cursory tests, however, yielded some suggestive results. It seems possible, among other things, to get at the very manuscript which Thomas used 'at the Enaton of Alexandria'.

The main result of these tests is that no definite trace of the Harklean text can be found earlier than A.D. 616. On the other hand, there are numerous instances of the 'Philoxenian' type. Conclusions from this fact must, however, be drawn with some reservation. It must be realized that neither Thomas nor Polycarp did his work in a spiritual vacuum; that both are dependent upon some advancing tradition of translation; namely the tradition of the Syrian schools. Translations therefore of a similar character need not be directly interdependent: they may be dependent upon a common tradition. Even so, at least the negative result just mentioned is telling. It practically forbids the assumption that a translation of the extreme Graecizing character like the Harklean could have come into existence in the first decade of the sixth century. It would then follow by implication that the Philoxenian basis must have been thoroughly different from the Harklean.

The general consideration just proffered deters one from being over-confident in referring biblical passages of generally Philoxenian character to the particular version produced by Polycarp. Such passages, for example, are numerous in the Syriac version of Cyril's Homilies on the Gospel of Luke.¹ Where the quotation (e.g.) of Luke 7. 17-23² comes near to, and again differs from, the Harklean in the same general way as did the genuinely Philoxenian instances discussed in the preceding section. The same observation was made by J. Gwynn with regard to the quotations from Isaiah in Cyril's *Glaphyra*. He utilized it as an argument for ascribing to Polycarp the translation also of the relevant parts of the Old Testament.³ Lebon impugned Gwynn's argument, referring to the trans-

¹ Ed. J.-B. Chabot, *Corp. Script. Christ. Or.* iv. 1, 1907; cf. A. Baumstark, *Gesch. der syr. Lit.*, 1922, 161.

² p. 73 Chabot.

³ *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* iv. 433.

lator's claim to have translated directly from the Greek.¹ The objection is not absolutely cogent. Except the very first, translator of the scriptures in any language, however original, ever worked independently of his predecessors. The translation of Cyril's homilies (perhaps the same Moses of Aghel who wrote the *Glaphyra*) is clearly at pains to reproduce the particular wording of Cyril's biblical quotations.² He may have adapted Polycarp's version to this standard. The alternative remains possible: the 'Philoxenian' character of his biblical citations may be due to a general tradition rather than to the influence of a particular version.

The origin of this tradition it is tempting to seek in the monastery of Qennesrin, the centre of Greek studies among the Syrian Monophysites. There both Thomas of Harkel and the patriarch Athanasius Camelarius were educated. A document of the days of Philoxenus professes some relation with this place. One of the closing stages of his long quarrel against Flavianus, the orthodox Patriarch of Antioch, is marked by the synod of Sidon, A.D. 510. The document in question is a petition addressed to this synod by 'the eastern monks and Qozma of Qennesrin'.³ It contains a few biblical references. Only one of them deserves a brief mention:

Exhibit XVII

Gal. 5. 15

Q = Land, iii. 227. 22 = Michael, ii. 263, left column, l. 10

Greek	Εἰ	δε	ἀλλήλους	δοκνετε	καὶ	κατασθίετε
Pesh	ܐܝ	ܕܝ	ܐܠܠܗܘܝܬܐ	ܕܐܠܡܢܐ	ܘ	ܕܐܠܡܢܐ
Q	„	om. ¹	ܐܠܠܗܘܝܬܐ	ܕܐܠܡܢܐ	„	ܕܐܠܡܢܐ
O	„	ܐܝ	ܐܠܠܗܘܝܬܐ	„	„	„
Greek	βλεπετε	μη	υπ' ἀλλήλων	αναλωθητε		
Pesh	ܠܐ	ܕܠܐ	ܡܢ ܐܠܠܗܘܝܬܐ	ܕܐܠܡܢܐ		
Q	„	„	„	„	„	„
O	„	„	ܡܢ ܐܠܠܗܘܝܬܐ	ܕܐܠܡܢܐ		

¹ The omission has no significance.

The rendering of ἀλλήλους in Q is that of the Harklean, not only at this place but throughout; it is foreign to the Peshitta. The

¹ *Revue d'hist. ecclés.* xii, 1911, 423.

² Cf. A. Rucker, *Die Lukas-Homilien des Hl. Cyrill von Alexandria*, diss. Berlin, 1911, 23 ff.

³ Land, *Anecd. Syr.* iii. 227; Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, ed. Chabot, ii, 1902, 163 (translation); 262 (text).

document likewise agrees with O in twice adding the separate pronoun to the participle rendering the Greek present. Thus M agrees with O against Pesh in the first half of the sentence while preserving the Pesh wording in the second half. Is the whole a fragment from the new version just published under the auspices of Philoxenus, who presided over the synod? The material is too slight to bear out this assumption.

A later document contains two more impressive instances. In his last year Justinian adopted and enjoined the views of the Arians who were branded as *Phantasiastae* by their opponents. The assembly of the Syrian bishops met at Antioch. They addressed to the emperor a letter, together with a dogmatical anathema, opposing this heresy. This document, which is sure to have been circulated at once also in Syriac, is preserved by Michael the Syrian. In the catena a passage issuing from the compiler contains a reference to Acts:

Exhibit XVIII

Acts 26. 23

M = Michael Syr. ii. 326, right column, bottom

Greek	Εἰ	παθητός	ο	χριστός		Εἰ	πρῶτος
h	?	س	—	ܡܫܚܐ	ο	?	ܡܡܪ
	√	ܡܡܪ	ܡܡ	„	om.	√	om.
	„	„	„	„	ο	„	„
Greek	ἐξ	ἀναστάσεως			καὶ νεκρῶν		
h	?	ܡܡܪ	?	ܡܡ	ܡܡ	ܡܡ	
	ܡܡ	„	„	om.	om.	„	
	„	„	„	om.	om.	„	

The Peshitta rendering of this passage is particularly free. The complete identity of M and the Harklean¹ in adapting it to the Greek is indeed remarkable: both devise the same equivalent for Greek παθητός, both render the article before Χριστός, both alter the two-fold rendering of Greek εἰ as well as the preposition after πρῶτος which itself is changed, without apparent necessity, in the same way by both. Both also omit the expansion of Pesh. This identity cannot prove the existence, before the days of Thomas of Harkel, of the Harklean version with all its particular traits, for all these alterations are of the kind which could and would have been made already in that text.

The reintroduction, in O, of *we* (καί), which is not covered by any sentence, may be a scribal error in O due to the influence of Pesh.

of which the remnants have been traced in the writings of Philoxenus. It does prove the existence, at this earlier date, of a kind of translation different from the Peshitta, with the same characteristics as were observed in Philoxenus; and it at least suggests that this was the actual Philoxenian version.

The other quotation is in the covering letter:

Exhibit XIX

II Cor. 5. 16

M = Michael Syr. ii. 330, left column, l. 15 bottom

Greek	Εἰ	καὶ	ἰ	ἐγνωκάμεν	κατὰ	σάρκα	χρῖς
Pesh	◦	و	—	ܡܢ	ܕܗܝ	ܕܡܝܬܐ	ܡܝܬܐ
M	—	”	ܡܢ	ܡܢ	ܕܗܝ	ܕܡܝܬܐ	”
O	—	”	ܡܢ	”	ܕܗܝ	ܕܡܝܬܐ	”
Greek	ἄλλα		νῦν	οὐκ	ἔτι	γινώσκουμεν	
Pesh	ܐܠܐ	ܡܢ	ܡܝܬܐ	ܐܠܐ		ܡܢ	
M	”	om.	”	”	”	”	
O	”	om.	”	”	ܕܡܝܬܐ	”	

¹ εἰ καὶ 1739 cum N*B. . . Orig. Eus.] καὶ εἰ FG, et si latt. pler. εἰ γὰρ Orig. Eus., nam et si vulg^B, et si enim Hieron. : εἰ δὲ καὶ plerique.

The wording in the letter is as interesting by its agreement with, as by its divergences from, O. The Peshitta here, as in some other cases,¹ used the Old Syriac equivalent for σὰρξ, *pe* ('body'). M and O introduce *besra*, which is the rule in Harklean. But the latter, here as always, puts it in the emphatic state, M in the absolute, as is the rule in the many cases where Pesh uses this word. Here, then, M is intermediary between Pesh and O. Moreover, M and O agree against Pesh in using the fuller form of the first verb and in expelling the idiomatic preposition before 'now' which has no Greek precedent. On the other hand, O alone devises an equivalent for the second element of the Greek οὐκέτι. The slight differences in the opening particles are important because they reflect different Greek prototypes. Neither Pesh, indeed, nor the Latin² really attests a Greek variant καὶ εἰ: the change of order may be due to the idiom of both languages. Against this, the Harklean reflects the later Greek Koine reading εἰ δὲ καί. But M differs both from the older as well as from the later Syriac versions. The

¹ (e.g.) John 6. 52-63; cf. Burkitt, *Evangel. Meph.* ii. 140 and 307.

² F and G practically belong to the Latin group.

(1) The tract 'Η κατὰ μέρος πίστις, ascribed to Gregorius Aumatourgos, is preserved both in Greek and in the Syriac. B. Brit. Mus. 730 of A.D. 569.² It contains many interesting quotations of which only a selection can here be discussed. But they seem to be all of the same type.

Rom. 8. 9 and 11

reek	Υμεις	δε	ουκ	εστε	εν σαρκι	αλλα	εν πνευματι
ih	ܝܚܝܝܐ	ܕܝܥܝܐ	ܠܐ	ܝܚܝܝܐ	ܚܝܝܐ	ܠܐ	ܠܝܚܝܐ
	”	”	”	ܝܚܝܝܐ	”	”	”
	”	”	”	”	ܚܝܝܐ	”	ܠܝܚܝܐ

reek	ΕΙΠΕΡ	ΠΝΕΥΜΑ	ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ	ΟΙΚΕΙ	ΕΝ ΥΜΙΝ . . . (ΙΙ) ΕΙ
h	√ 𐤀𐤏𐤏𐤁	𐤏𐤍	𐤏𐤕𐤕𐤕	𐤏𐤕𐤕	𐤀 √
	„ 𐤀𐤏	𐤏𐤍𐤕𐤕?	„	𐤏𐤕𐤕	— „
	„ „	𐤏𐤍𐤕𐤕?	„	„	— „

reek	δε	το πνευμα	του	εγειραντος	τον ιησουν ^I
h	—	ουου	ουου	صم	صم
	μ?	”	om.	”	om.
	”	ουου	”	om.	”

7. Tischendorf; silet v. Soden); *Iesum Christum* vulg^{b*}, demid., Aug. (6),
il.

Only an occasional reference will be made to those preserved in a manuscript ascribed to the 7th/8th century.

167; J. Flemming und H. Lietzmann, *Apollinaristische Schriften, Syrisch, Abhandl. der Göttinger Gel. Ges., phil.-hist. Kl., vii. 4*, 1904, 1 ff.

Greek	ΕΚ	νεκρῶν ¹	οἰκεῖ	ἐν ὑμῖν	ο	ἐγεί
Pesh	ܡܫܐܠ	ܡܚܐ	ܡܬܐܠ	ܡܬܐܠ	ܡܚܐ	ܡܚܐ
A	„	„ om.	„	ܡܬܐܠ	„	„ om.
O	om.	„ om.	„	„	„	om.

Greek	τον χριστον ²	ΕΚ	νεκρῶν ³	ζωοποι
Pesh	ܡܬܐܠ ⁴	ܡܚܐ	ܡܬܐܠ	ܡܬܐܠ
A	om.	om.	ܡܬܐܠ	„ om.
O	om.	om.	„	„ om.

Greek	καὶ	τα θνητὰ σώματα ὑμῶν	διὰ
Pesh	ܐ/	ܡܬܐܠ ܡܬܐܠ	ܡܬܐܠ
A	„	„	„
O	„	ܡܬܐܠ ܡܬܐܠ	„

Greek	του ενοικουντος αυτου πνευματος	ἐν ὑμῖν
Pesh	ܡܬܐܠ	ܡܬܐܠ
A	ܡܬܐܠ	ܡܬܐܠ
O	ܡܬܐܠ	ܡܬܐܠ

¹ ΕΚ νεκρῶν om. 1739.

² (τον) χριστον] ἰησουν χριστον C, 5, 104, 623, 1288 = 81, boh. (sec. Soden, silet Tischendorf) vulg; τον κυριον ημων ιν 54 (sec. Tisch., s. v. Soden), alii alia.

³ ΕΚ νεκρῶν ante χριστον ἰησουν (sic) trp. 1739 cum ⁸* AC.

⁴ Sic Schaaf; om. Gwilliam.

A here joins O against Pesh in exactly the same way as the other witnesses before. The agreement in the rendering *ἐἴπερ* is particularly characteristic. Furthermore, both omit Pesh expansions 'our Lord' (twice) and 'Jesus', and simplify the rendering of the article (twice) prefixed to the Greek participle. The ascription, to 'the holy Spirit', of the masculine gender was observed in Exhibits I and II, while the change in the rendering of νεκρῶν is as in Exhibit XVIII. The alteration of the Pesh rendering of ἐστέ recalls Exhibit XIV (cf. II and later on, XXIV f.), and that of διὰ, Exhibit VI. At the beginning of v. 11 both imitate the Greek δέ (cf. Exhibit V), while at the end of the quotation the rendering of the Greek participle prefaced by *hau de* as in Exhibits IV and XI, and the word order has been brought into accordance with the Greek. And yet, notwithstanding this large amount of agreement, the text from which A quotes is not identical with the Harklean. Hence as in Exhibits IV and XIX, the latter alone employs the emphatic forms *besra* and *ruḥa* and, as it does so frequently,

indulges in the particle *d'il* with suffixes, and omits the suffix before the genitive. It is strict in its rendering of *θηγά* and omits the additional 'Christ' which A shares with Pesh.

This quotation is followed up, in A, with one from Rom. 8. f. In this passage the Harklean on the whole agrees with the Peshitta. Where they are at variance, A mostly follows Pesh; even in using *qrā* for *κράζω*, which is against the Harklean rules.¹ Nevertheless there is, here too, one substantial agreement between A and O against Pesh, viz. in the literal rendering of *ἄββα ὁ πατήρ* by *abba hau abba*. The situation appears to be reversed in the quotation of Rom. 9. 1 which follows immediately. Here A is largely, though not absolutely, in accordance with O against Pesh; as (e.g.) in the rendering of *ἀλήθεια* in the beginning, and of *συνείδησις* towards the end; it even uses the Harklean *ruḥa qadiša* which Philoxenus was found to avoid in such cases but one.² It occurs elsewhere in the Apollinarian citations, as (e.g.) in the citation of Rom. 15. 13 which is joined to the one just mentioned, and immediately afterwards, ib. verses 14 and 19. At the latter place it is evidence of a Greek original different from those used by Apollinarius himself as well as by Pesh and the Harklean, for all these read 'the spirit of God' and not 'the Holy Spirit'.

These instances occur in a long quotation, Rom. 15. 15-19.³ Here in this passage O is at variance with Pesh, the latter is followed by A more often than the former; besides, A has some variants (all but one minute) of its own. A short extract can show this:

Exhibit XXI

Rom. 15. 18

A = Apollinarius, l.c., p. 7. 17

Greek	Οὐ	γὰρ	τολμησῶ ¹		λάλειν	τί ²
Pesh	لا	ف	محمّد	—	محمّد	ف
	"	"	" "	ف	محمّد	—
	"	"	محمّد	—	"	ف

[τολμησῶ 1739, al. pler.] τολμῶ Apollin. Graec. cum *κ^cB*, Didym. . . ; eo latt.

[λάλειν τι recc. pler.] τι λάλειν Apoll. Graec. cum *κ^cABC*, 1739, al.

¹ The Harklean equivalent for *κράζω* is *q'ā*, while *qrā* serves for *καλέω* and derivatives.

² Mt. i. 20; above, p. 56.

³ Flemming-Lietzmann, p. 7; cf. the Greek text in Lietzmann, l.c.

Greek	ων	ου	κατειργασατο	χριστος	δι' εμου ¹
Pesh	—	ولا	ههنا	—	حابوب
A	احم ص	”	ههنا	ههنا	”
O	” احم	”	”	”	”

Greek		εις υπακοην	εθνων
Pesh	—	احصمدا	احصمدا?
A	؟ ² /	احصمدا	”
O	om.	”	”

¹ trp. δι' εμου ο χριστος 255 solus (sec. v. Soden).

² εις] ως εις nusquam reperitur.

In the way known from so many other instances A strives to bring Pesh into closer agreement with the Greek, and O adds his usual pedantic touches. In the two variants which presuppose differences in the original, the reading of A may be dependent upon the Greek text of Apollinarius' tract; yet the preceding exhibit A was found to retain a Peshitta reading in defiance of the immediate original.

(2) and (3) Two other Apollinarian writings contain material bearing on the present subject. One instance must suffice. This is the one case which admits of comparison with a quotation in Philoxenus' *De Uno*. The MS. (B.M. 729), dated 'before A.D. 561', contains Apollinarius' *Letter to Iovianus*. Luke i. 34 referred to above, Exhibit I, is quoted there at the end of the first chapter. Verse 34 only recurs in the tract *Quod unus Christus*. This is preserved in MS. B.M. 730, ascribed to the 7th/8th century. Its comparatively recent date detracts from the value of this witness and may help to explain some of its peculiarities.

Is not Exhibit XXII like slight variations on one very definite theme? This basic theme, it might be argued, is a Graecizing manner of translation prevailing in the sixth century. This assumption would meet the present argument: it is known that a 'new version' was produced in the beginning of this century and here is material to show what it must have been like. Yet is it bold to scent in these instances, not only this general tendency, but its definite materialization, viz. the Philoxenian version? If there is any boldness in this suggestion, it is greatly reduced by the evidence of Athanasius Camelarius, the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch, and his 'syncellus', Thomas of Harkel.

Exhibit XXII

Luke 1. 34 f.

Phil¹ = Philoxenus, *De Uno*, p. 58. 7Phil² = " " " p. 95. 2Phil³ = " " " p. 236, bottomA¹ = Apollinarius, *Ad Iovianum*, p. 33. 11 (cf. Lietzmann, p. 251. 9 for Greek text)A² = Apollinarius, *Quod unus*, p. 48. 21 (cf. Lietzmann, p. 302. 1, for the Greek text)

Greek	Πως	εσται ¹	τουτο	επει	ανδρα	ου	γινωσκω; ...
sh	ܡܫܐ	—	ܝܘܬܐ	—	ܝܥܐ	ܠܐ	ܠܐ ܡܫܡ
il ¹	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
	"	"	"	"	"	"	ܡܡܡܐ
	"	ܡܡܡܐ	"	ܡܡܡܐ	"	"	ܡܡܡܐ ܡܡܡܐ
	om.	"	"	"	"	"	ܡܡܡܐ

Greek	(35) πνευμα	αγιον	επελευσεται	επι σε	και	δυναμις	υψιστου
sh	ܡܡܡܐ	ܡܡܡܐ	ܡܡܡܐ	—	ܡܡܡܐ	ܡܡܡܐ	ܡܡܡܐ
il ¹⁻³	"	"	ܡܡܡܐ	ܡܡܡܐ	"	"	ܡܡܡܐ
	"	ܡܡܡܐ	"	"	"	"	"
	"	"	"	"	"	"	"

Greek	επισκιασει	σοι	διο	και ³	το	γεννωμενον	εκ σου ⁴
sh	ܡܡܡܐ	ܡܡܡܐ	—	ܡܡܡܐ	—	ܡܡܡܐ	ܡܡܡܐ
il ^{(1)2,3}	"	" ²	"	"	"	"	ܡܡܡܐ
	"	"	ܡܡܡܐ	"	"	"	ܡܡܡܐ
	"	"	—	"	"	ܡܡܡܐ	om.

Greek	αγιον	κληθησεται	υιος	θεου
sh	ܡܡܡܐ	ܡܡܡܐ	ܡܡܡܐ	ܡܡܡܐ
il ²	"	om.	ܡܡܡܐ	"
il ³	"	om.	ܡܡܡܐ	"
	"	om.	"	"
	"	om.	ܡܡܡܐ	"

[εσται] + μοι B^{corr}C^{corr}, (fam.) 1, fam. 13, 28, al.Hic explicit Phil¹.[και] et om. Iren. ½ (hiant syr^{sc}).[εκ σου] om. ABC^{corr}W, 13, 700 cum byz. pler.; Dd; b, f; Iren. ½, t. ½, Cypr.Cf. *sanctum est* et Iren. ½.

O fortasse corruptus ex Pesh, ut legendum sit ܡܡܡܐ.

Together with Anastasius of Alexandria, his Egyptian counterpart, Athanasius succeeded in A.D. 610 in putting an end, at least formally, to the 'causeless schism' which ever since A.D. 519 had separated the two branches of the Monophysite Church. To these negotiations reference has been made in the introduction above. The task was difficult, not owing to any substantial divergences of doctrine, but because national prejudice was involved on both sides. A set of documents in Syriac, carefully calculated to prevent this prejudice in Athanasius' province from shattering the concordat, is preserved in Michael's Chronicle.² Because of their discursiveness and acuteness the documents form a fascinating subject of historical study. In the present context their interest is in the biblical quotations which they embody. Residing at the Enaton, Athanasius appears to have quoted from the very MS.³ on which Thomas based his revised edition of the Philoxenian version. This happened before the revision was carried out.

The basic document is the charter of agreement ('συνοδικόν' drawn up in the name of the two patriarchs. Of the New Testament quotations in it only one happens to reproduce a passage where the Peshitta and the Harklean differ from each other:

Exhibit XXIII

Hebr. 6. 19 f.

S = Synodikon, Mich. Syr. ii. 393, right column, line 3

Greek	... ην	ως	αγκυραν	εχομεν	
Pesh	ܐܢ	ܐܘܬܝܬܐ	ܐܢܝܢ	—	ܚܝܒܝܢ
S		]	”	”	om
H ¹	”	”	”	”	om

¹ R. L. Bensly's collation makes it possible here to fashion the text H(arklean) instead of reproducing the one manuscript O.

¹ Much ink has been spilt in the endeavour to fix this date. It is not established by the detailed subscription of the tenth book of Michael's chronicle. It is not worth while recounting the *ambages* to which a simple scribal error in Bar Hebraeus' Chronicle (which recurs also in Michael a few lines above the correct form) reduced scholars of outstanding merit like A. v. Gutschmid, J. Gelzer, and A. J. Butler. Anastasius died the 22nd Choiak (18 December) 613. The presence of Athanasius in Alexandria in 617 is attested by the subscription of IV Kings in the Syro-Hexapla. This does not imply that he had not been there already in 610.

² Michael Syr. ii. 392 (text), 381 (translation).

³ There may of course have been several copies of the same kind.

Greek	της ψυχης	ασφαλη	τε και	βεβαιαν	και	εισερχομενην
h	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	—	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	—	ܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ
	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ ¹	—	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ
	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ ²	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ ³	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ
Greek	εις το εσωτερον	του	καταπετασματος	οπου	προδρομος	
h	ܠܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ
	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ
	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ
Greek	υπερ ημων	εισηλθεν	ιησους			
h	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ
	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ
	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ	ܬܝܬܝܬܐ

After this the manuscript has a word which I cannot decipher. Chabot not translate it.

ܬܝܬܝܬܐ, codd. C, B.M. 12178; Bar. Hebr.] ܬܝܬܝܬܐ cod. O per errorem (ex Pesh).
ܬܝܬܝܬܐ om. cod. C (per errorem). ⁴ ܬܝܬܝܬܐ manuscript (per errorem).

Here, as always, the Harklean reduces the freedom of the Peshitta so as to bring it into conformity with the Greek. The Peshitta used in A.D. 610 at the Enaton had many but not all of these alterations. S and H agree in rejecting the expansion *quae retinet vitam nostram*; both also translate, by the same words, the Greek adjectives, which Pesh had briefly paraphrased by *non commoveatur*. Moreover, the two Enaton products agree in rendering the participle *εισερχομένην* against the main verb of the sentence and, most impressively, they devise the same equivalent for the difficult Greek *πρόδρομος*, for which Pesh had simply rendered 'first'. And yet the two are not identical. H alone transcribes the Greek *ἄγκυρα*, here as always, instead of translating it; it alone endeavours to reproduce the Greek *καί...καί* by doubling the particle *we*; it alone changes the word order, at least in accordance with the Greek. Finally, the small alteration of the rendering adopted by S of the Greek *ὅπου* is also instructive. The sense is 'whither', and S rendered it accordingly. In the Greek has *ὅπου*, not *ὅποι*. Therefore H omits the prefix *le*. The New Testament text used for S was a half-way house between the Peshitta and the Harklean. This holds good also of the other documents. The 'synodikon' was sent to Syria in various covering letters. An encyclical by Athanasius contains no relevant quotations; but there is one in a particularly diplomatic letter in which Athanasius solicits the help, against potential trouble-makers, of an influential ecclesiastical potentate, Cyriacus of Amida.

Exhibit XXIV

Mt. 16. 18

A = Athanasius Camelarius *apud* Mich. Syr. ii. 393, left column,
l. 5 bottom

Greek	Συ	ει	πετρος	και	επι	ταυτη	τη	πετρα	οικοδομη
Pesh	ܣܝ	ܝܥܝ	ܡܬܪܐ	ܘ	ܥܠ	ܬܝܬܝܗ	ܬܝܬܝܗ	ܡܬܪܐ	ܘܟܝܠܕܝܡܐ
A	”	ܝܥܝܬܐ	ܡܬܪܐ	”	”	ܬܝܬܝܗ	om.	”	”
O	”	”	ܡܬܪܐ	”	”	”	ܡܬܪܐ	”	”
Greek	μου την εκκλησιαν ¹								
Pesh	ܡܝܬܝܢ ܬܝܬܝܗ								
A	”								
O	ܡܝܬܝܢ ܬܝܬܝܗ								

¹ μου την εκκλησιαν] την εκκλ. μου D; *ecclesiam meam* latt.

The outstanding feature of Exhibit XXIV is the rendering *Petros*—πέτρα, not by *kepha* as in Pesh, but by *šū'ā*. Seeing that in A, the quotation is preceded by the name of Peter, it might be supposed itself to have been adapted from a form closely similar to O. Yet as it stands in O this sentence, though painstakingly imitating the Greek, is so unintelligible as to necessitate the marginal comment 'Petrus means *šū'ā*'.¹ Quite possibly therefore A preserves the wording which is at the basis of O. Besides these two agree in their rendering of εἰ, while O alone gives the genitive pronoun in its usual cumbrous manner.²

The series of documents is completed by a letter from the Egyptian patriarch addressed to Athanasius and glorifying the union achieved. It contains three quotations from the Gospel. They show the same characteristics as those in the other documents. Probably this letter was translated into Syriac at the Enaton.

Exhibit XXV

Mt. 18. 20

An = Anastasius *apud* Mich. Syr. ii. 400, left column, l. 16 bottom

Greek	Ου	γαρ	ΕΙΣΙΝ	ΔΥΟ	ἢ	ΤΡΕΙΣ	ΣΥΝΗΓΜΕΝΟΙ
Pesh	ܡܝܬܝܢ	ܥܝܢܐ	—	ܕܝܢܝܢ	ܘ	ܬܠܬܝܢ	ܡܬܪܐ
An	” ¹	om. ²	ܕܝܢܝܢ	ܕܝܢܝܢ	”	”	ܡܬܪܐ
O	”	ܥܝܢܐ	ܕܝܢܝܢ	”	”	”	”

¹ ܡܝܬܝܢ manuscript; corr. Chabot.

² The omission is natural in a quotation.

¹ Cf. Jn. 1. 42; Burkitt, *Evangel. da Meph.* ii. 92.

² In the Apollinarian *Quod unus sit Christus* (p. 46, Flemming-Lietzmann, cf. above, Exhibit XXII) this passage is quoted from the Peshitta.

reek	ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΕΜΟΝ ΟΝΟΜΑ ³	ΕΚΕΙ	ΕΙΜΙ	ΕΝ ΜΕΣΩ ΑΥΤΩΝ
sh	حَصَد	اَھم	ہے	میں
	حَصَد	مک؟	،،	ہے
	،،	،،	،،	،،

An and O agree against Pesh in translating the Greek εἰς τὸν ἐμὴν; O, though, as usually, writes the fuller form also in the former case. An and O also replace the Pesh rendering of ἐς τὸν ἐμὴν by a synonym, O alone here again adding the full form of the pronoun. But already An uses this form, against Pesh, rendering the weighty 'in *my* name'.¹

Jn. 14. 27

ἔκ	Εἰρηνην	ἀφιγιμ	σιν	εἰρηνην	την	ἐμην	διδωμι	σιν
h	ܐܝܪܗܢܝܢ	ܠܝ ܐܠܡܝܢ	ܠܐܝܢ	ܐܝܪܗܢܝܢ	—	ܠܝ	ܠܝ ܕܐܡܝܢ	ܠܐܝܢ
	ܠܝ	”	”	ܠܝ	—	”	”	”
	”	”	”	”	ܐܡܝܢ	”	”	”

³ Cf. above, p. 45.

Cf. J. Gwynn, *The Apocalypse*, p. xxxvii.

Cf. Bensly, *l.c.*, p. 24 on Heb. II. 31.

The Peshitta wording of the same passage is quoted in the translation of the second edict of Justin II, probably of A.D. 566 (Michael Syr. ii. 338).

Exhibit XXVII

Jn. 13. 35

An = Anastasius, l.c., line 17 bottom

Greek	Εν τούτω	γινώσκονται	πάντες	ὅτι	ἐμοὶ	μαθηταὶ	ἐσ-
Pesh	ܐܢܝܢ	ܡܥܬܝܢ	ܡܢܗܡ	ܕܝܢ	ܠܝ	ܬܠܬܝܢ	ܡܬܝܬܝܢ
An	ܐܢܝܢ	ܡܥܬܝܢ	ܡܢܗܡ	om. ¹	ܐܢܝܢ	ܬܠܬܝܢ	ܡܬܝܬܝܢ
O	ܐܢܝܢ	ܡܥܬܝܢ	ܡܢܗܡ	ܐܢܝܢ	ܬܠܬܝܢ	ܡܬܝܬܝܢ	ܡܬܝܬܝܢ
Greek	εἰ	ἀγαπῆν	ἐχῆτε	ἐν	ἀλλήλοις	²	
Pesh	ܐܝܢ	ܡܥܬܝܢ	ܡܢܗܡ	ܡܢ	ܡܢ	ܡܢ	
An	ܐܢܝܢ	ܡܥܬܝܢ	ܡܢܗܡ	ܡܢ	ܡܢ	ܡܢ	
O	ܐܢܝܢ	ܡܥܬܝܢ	ܡܢܗܡ	ܡܢ	ܡܢ	ܡܢ	

¹ The omission is not recorded from any other source and probably has no significance.

² ἀγαπῆν . . . ἀλλήλοις] ἀγαπάτε ἀλλήλους 69, 124 (sec. Ferrar) and 185, 788, 047, 080, 0113 (sec. Tisch. et v. Soden); cf. Did. Cyr. Chrysostom, harcl.^{marg.}

‘Both (viz. the Philoxenian and the Harklean) employ the particle *d’il* with personal suffixes where emphasis requires it, as stated Gwynn. So here An and O, cf. Exhibits XXV and XXII. Both also agree in introducing the typical Harklean equivalent for ἀλλήλων (cf. Exhibit XVII) and the plural form corresponding with Greek γινώσκονται, and both render the Greek auxiliary verb in a manner known from several other instances (cf. (e.g.) Exhibits XX and XXIV). But towards the end of the sentence reflects a Greek wording different from that which was followed by Pesh and O (cf. Exhibits XI and XIX–XXII).

Gwynn’s theory appears to be vindicated. The ‘new version’ produced by Polycarp in A.D. 510 left its marks in the Syriac literature of the sixth century. Thomas of Harkel revised it according to a more rigid standard of Syro-Greek equations and on the basis of a noticeably different Greek text.

I. THE ANCESTRY OF THE PHILOXENIAN TEXT: 'EUTHALIUS' AND PAMPHILUS

A. INTRODUCTORY

Ἀντεβλήθη πρὸς τὸ ἀντίγραφον τὸ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης· τῆς
βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ ἁγίου Παμφίλου· χειρὶ γεγραμμένον αὐτοῦ· (quae erant)
ὅπερ ἦσαν?) ἐπιστολαὶ δεκατέσσαρες· ὧν εἰσὶν πάντων ὁμοῦ·
ἀγνώσεις λα΄· κεφάλαια ρμζ΄· μαρτυρίαι ρκζ΄· στίχοι τετρακισχίλιοι
ις΄.

This subscription was in the Greek manuscript from which the Philoxenian version was made. Its first half recurs verbatim in the other codd. H^{Paul} and 88 as well as in the Armenian, while the second half is identical with the summing up of the 'Euthalian' list of ἀγνώσεις. From these facts it was inferred (above, p. 24) that the relevant *Codex Pamphili* contained something very similar to the 'Euthalian' apparatus. The manuscript collated with none would suppose to have repeated Pamphilus' text. Consequently, the basis of the Philoxenian version was a Caesarean text of particular purity.

If these preliminary inferences should prove correct, the consequences would be considerable. The researches into the Caesarean text would profit from a new line of approach; the vacuum in the history of the Syriac versions would be filled up; and the vexed 'Euthalian' question might get a step nearer solution.

A first query is easily raised and easily countered. 'Euthalius' may leave this name, *pro tempore*, to the author of the three prologues) quotes from Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* and therefore must have written after A.D. 323; Pamphilus died in A.D. 309. How then could anything like the 'Euthalian' apparatus have been in Pamphilus' autograph? The obvious conclusion is that it was in the main elaborated by Pamphilus and adopted by 'Euthalius'.

This would imply that the 'Euthalian' edition was a Caesarean, and not an Egyptian, product; that Conybeare¹ and Gusset,² against Robinson³ and Corsen,⁴ were on the right track in using the subscriptions in H, &c., as a starting-point for their endeavour to recover the text of Pamphilus; and that

¹ *Journal of Philology*, xxiii, 1895, 248.

² *Textkritische Studien zum N.T.*, 1894, 45 ff.; cf. E. Nestle, *Introd. to the N.T. Crit. of the N.T.*, 1901, 188.

³ *Euthaliana*, 1895, 69 and 75.

⁴ *Göttinger Gel. Anz.* 1899, 676.

the accepted notions about the evolution of the 'Euthalian' corpus would have to be revised.

Those are far-reaching consequences. They are as yet dependent upon the assumption that the second half of the subscription just quoted—the summing up of the ἀναγνώσεις &c., in the Paulines—is indeed a quotation from Pamphilus' autograph, and not an independent extract from the proper 'Euthalian' tables. The Syriac wording at this point—the loose phrase translated *quae erant*—unfortunately is not quite unequivocal; the interpretation advanced is, I think, natural, yet might be contested. It certainly appears a slender foundation to build upon, needing confirmation by independent tests.

We are thus driven to reconsider the 'Euthalian' problem in its entirety. In view of the notorious deficiencies of the published material, this is not a welcome task. Upon it, however, depends the evaluation of the Philoxenian text.

B. THE ORIGIN OF THE 'EUTHALIAN' TABLES¹

The given starting-point are the prologues prefixed to the three parts of the 'Euthalian' edition. The Pauline Epistles were issued first. In one ambitious phrase of their prologue the unnamed author (let us call him X) gives evidence of his achievements.² It follows from the interpretation of this intricate passage, combined with other data, that X took from some exemplar all the material which he listed in his tables ἀναγνώσεις, μαρτυρία, and κεφάλαια.

... καθ' ἐκάστην δὲ συντόμως ἐπιστολήν

ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς προτάξομεν

τὴν τῶν κεφαλαίων ἑκθεσίαν

ἐνὶ τῶν σοφωτάτων τινὶ καὶ φιλοχρίστῳ³ πατέρων ἡμῶν πεπονημένῃ

οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ

τὴν τῶν ἀναγνώσεων ἀκριβεστάτην τομὴν

τὴν τε⁴ τῶν θείων μαρτυριῶν εὐαπόδεκτον εὗρεσιν

¹ The following inquiries could not have been carried out but for the excellent work done in this field by Robinson and Conybeare, Rendel Harris and von Dobschütz, A. Ehrhard, P. Corssen, W. Bousset, Th. Zahn, and H. von Soden. But I must forbear recounting every case of agreement or disagreement with these pioneers.

² L. Zacagni, *Collectio Mon. Vet.*, 1698, 528 = Migne, *Patr. Graeca*, lxxxvii, 708A.

³ The wording here is not beyond objection.

⁴ For reasons of grammar and style the variant reading δέ is to be

ἡμεῖς τεχνολογήσαντες ἀνεκεφαλαιωσάμεθα
 ἐπιτιπορευόμενοι τῇ τῆς ὑφ᾽ ἡς ἀναγνώσει·
 ἐκθησόμεθα δ' οὖν ταύτην
 εὐθύς μετὰ τόνδε τὸν πρόλογον.

The two parts of this period are connected, and contrasted, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καί. The first part foreshadows the ἐκθεσις κεφαλαίων which is to be given 'with reference to every single epistle'. This is a later task. The second part announces what the reader is to find 'immediately after the present prologue'.¹ X has skillfully summed up two separate items: the ἀναγνώσεις and μαρτυρίαι. The common verb, and the pronoun ταύτην at the end referring to the *ensemble* of these two, are evidence of a close analogy and correlation between them. We are thus led to expect, immediately after the prologue, the ἀνακεφαλαιώσεις (a) ἀναγνώσεις and (b) μαρτυρίαι, to be followed by the ἐκθεσις κεφαλαίων. And this is, indeed, what we find—if only the spurious *Martyrium Pauli* and the Ps.-Athanasian ὑποθέσεις are admitted.²

The ἐκθεσις κεφαλαίων begins immediately before the text of the first epistle. About its origin X is unequivocal: he took it over from some 'Christ-loving father'. The same rapport is implied, with regard to the Book of Acts, in an analogous, though slightly less definite, phrase prefixed to the relevant text³: 'Ἐκ πατέρων ἡμεῖς καὶ διδασκάλων τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸν τύπον ἀκολουθεῖν ἐγχειροῦμεν μετρίως τῇδε τῇ τῶν κεφαλαίων ἐκθέσει. When compared with the corresponding phrase in the Pauline prologue of one proves to be a merely stylistic variation. The identity of X's procedure here and there stands out in the stylistic and material similarity of the two sets of κεφάλαια. Those of the Catholic Epistles are in the same category.⁴

quoted (cf. A. Ehrhard, *Centralblatt für Bibl.* viii, 1891, 392; J. A. Robinson, *Euthaliana* (*Texts and Studies*, iii, 3), 1895, 12).

Εὐθύς μετὰ κτλ. at the end of the period contrasts with ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς at the beginning.

The demonstration of the spuriousness of the *Martyrium* is, to the present day, the most brilliant achievement in Robinson's justly famous *Euthaliana* (p. 28). The pedigree of the ὑποθέσεις has long since been established (e.g.) Robinson, l.c. 20).

Zac. 428 = P.G. lxxxv. 652 B. This note was written by the author of the prologues: the general similarity of style is stressed by the recurrence of the word συμπεριφορά in the analogous appeals here and Zac. 405 = P.G. lxxxv. 629 C.

Cf. Robinson, l.c. 25.

What 'Euthalius' found in the 'Christ-loving father's' exemplar, and how he used it, is not clear as long as the notice of ἐκθέσις κεφαλαίων is in the dark. Modern comment being vague, and no relevant other instance of this use of the word ἐκθέσις being recorded in the lexicæ, a brief survey of the ancient habit of 'capitulation' is here necessary.¹

The rhetor, who wants his audience to follow his argument intelligently, is advised by the theoreticians to begin by shortly enumerating his main points (κεφάλαια). A technical term for this kind of proemium is προέκθεσις.² The later rhetoricians observed that already Demosthenes and his contemporaries had introduced their subjects in this manner. A similar usage soon recommended itself to writers in various fields. Polybius, for example, finds it useful to κεφαλαιωδῶς προεκθέσθαι the contents of his third book,³ and later on⁴ decides to insert προεκθέσεις summarizing the events of each olympiad. Diodorus gives similar surveys at the beginning of every book. Obviously the chief value of these προεκθέσεις was in their teaching the reader what he was to find in the βιβλίον without bothering to unroll it.

This method, however, was not sufficient for composite works, compilations, and books of technical character. If the reader was to find with ease a quotation in an anthology, or a prescription in a medical book, or some advice for special need in a book about farming, some more detailed guidance was needed. Hence in books of this type the προέκθεσις, once a carefully styled part of the preface, is replaced by a proper index. The single 'main points' (κεφάλαια) are indicated by brief phrases, often consisting of mere catchwords without a predicate, or of artless clauses introduced by περί, πῶς, or ὅτι. Of Pliny's voluminous compilation the whole first book—an index-volume, so to say—is taken up by such tables. Cato prefixed a list *capita* to his small work on agriculture, and Hermogenes πίναξ κεφαλαίων to each volume of his rhetorical handbook. A papyrus known as the *Anonymus Argentinensis* has been identified as the subject-list of an exegetical work, perhaps by Didymus or Demosthenes. Indispensable were such introductory lists

¹ Cf. E. Schwartz, in the preface of his edition of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* (vol. iii, 1909), p. cl; R. Friderici, *De librorum antiquorum capitulorum divisione*, 1911; Th. Birt, *Kritik und Hermeneutik*, 1913, 11.

² See (e.g.) J. C. Th. Ernesti, *Lexicon Technologiae Graecae Rhetoricae*, 1791, 289; and the indexes of Waltz's and Spengel's collections.

³ Polybius, iii. 1. 5.

⁴ Polybius, xi. 1 a.

ἐφάλλα to those using, in later antiquity, the huge medical compilations of Oribasius (a contemporary of 'Euthalius'). Eusebius used the same method in his *Ecclesiastical History* as well as in the *Praeparatio* and *Demonstratio Evangelica*.

This usage at an early date spread beyond the range of technical works and compilations. It appears that the editions of the classical historians current in Roman times were furnished with lists of the same kind. Pap. Rylands 19 (2nd cent. A.D.) is a fragment of one, referring to the 47th book of Theopompus' *Philippica*; Oxyrrh. 665 (2nd cent. A.D.) similarly indexes an unidentified work on Sicilian history, which has by turns been ascribed, and denied, to Timaeus and Philistus.¹ In philosophical literature the same habit can be instanced from the *Hypotyposes* of Sextus Empiricus and the discourses of Epictetus edited by Arrian.

Where the summaries of successive sections were numbered (e.g., in Pliny) the relevant figures repeated in the margin of the text were sufficient to guide the reader. But as a rule the relevant 'head-lines' were repeated, with or without figures, at the top or bottom of the columns (e.g. in the Berlin *Artemidus*), or inserted by way of sub-titles (Sextus, Arrian). Indexes of this purely technical kind may indeed often have originated from the artless conglomeration of the marginal notes. A more literary type resulted from the epitomizing mania of the age. Summaries of the classical epics, dramas, and practically all branches of literature, primarily designed to serve as substitutes for the originals, were often prefixed to them by way of prefaces.

These two varieties of prefatory surveys both have their Christian counterpart. The pseudo-Athanasian *Hypotheseis* compare with the *hypotheseis* prefixed to the speeches of the Attic, and later, orators and with those Euripidean *hypotheseis* which were extracted from a complete set (now lost) of 'Tales from the *Philippides*'. On the other hand, the style of the 'Euthalian' ἐφάλλα indeed bespeaks an independent and penetrating extractor and a stylist versed in Greek παιδεία. But they are not extracts originally independent: they refer to a text which they summarize section by section. They compare with the indexes

The chapter lists prefixed to medieval manuscripts of Herodotus (see *Palaeographical Society*, ii, 1884 ff., pl. 84), Diodorus, and Josephus are likely to go back to the same period. The Livy *periocliae* originally were of the same kind; so are the *Prologi in Pompeium Trogum* which in many MSS. precede Justin's *Epitome* of the *Historiae Philippicae*.

of historical and philosophical books referred to above. Christian analogies may be quoted the ἀνακεφαλαιώσεις of Hieronimus, which Epiphanius prefixed to each volume of his *Panarion*, and the lists of κεφάλαια which precede each book of John Philoponus' work *On the eternity of the world*.

Summaries of this kind Hermogenes and Oribasius inscribed πίναξ κεφαλαίων. It appears that ἐκθεσις, or προέκθεσις, κεφαλαίων was an alternative, and more refined, designation. The proof for this assertion is not easily given because in the manuscripts they have either no inscription at all, or are introduced by Τάδε ἐνεστὶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ βιβλίῳ, or simply by Κεφάλαια. Yet there are two references which, in combination with what has already been said, will probably be found sufficient.

Of the great work on mechanics by Philo of Byzantium, written in the second or third century B.C., only parts survive. In chapter 20 of the book on ballistics¹ he sets out to describe and justify an invention of his own: ποιησόμεθα δὲ καὶ ἀπολογισμὸν κατὰ τὴν τῶν κεφαλαίων ἐκθεσιν, περὶ τοῦ πρώτου πρῶτον λέγοντες. Philo's book has no index, because it is written in the fashionable form of a letter addressed to a learned friend. Instead Philo gives a précis of its main points at the beginning of each section (ch. 14f.). To this he refers back by the expression ἐκ τῆς κεφαλαίων.

Aulus Gellius, whatever his literary ambitions, could avoid providing each of his volumes of blended *Lesefrüchte* with an index. This he prefaces (*praef.* 25): 'CAPITA rerum, cuiusque commentario insunt, EXPOSUIMUS hic universa, ut cum statim declaretur, quid quo in libro quaeri inveniri que possit. He announces an *expositio capitum*, i.e. ἐκθεσις κεφαλαίων. This follows immediately in the shape of a table with the heading *capitula*.

On this background it becomes clear what the κεφαλαίων ἐκθεσις was which 'Euthalius' found in his exemplar: not marginal summaries of the contents of the single sections, but a complete 'survey of the main points' prefixed to the book. This, in fact, is what the expression κατ' ἐκάστην ἐπιστολήν implies. As von Dobschütz urged,² it means 'with reference to', and 'prefixed to', each letter. The model-list, then, was arranged according to the single Epistles; but was prefixed, in accordance with Greek literary custom, to the whole *corpus Paulinum*.

¹ Ed. R. Schoene, 1893, p. 59, 1, Thevenot; cf. H. Diels and E. Schramm, *Abhandl. d. Preuss. Akad., phil-hist. Klasse, Jahrgang 1919*, No. 16, 1920, p. 1.

² *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xix, 1898, 149.

but in all 'Euthalian' manuscripts the relevant lists of chapters are prefixed, one by one, to the single Epistles. This, I suppose, is what 'Euthalius' brought about. He contrived neither the divisions of the text nor the summaries of their contents. What he himself could achieve in the latter field stands out in the ὑποθέσεις which form part of his prolegomena:¹ they contrast poorly with the very adroit and pertinent summaries which he owed to the 'Christ-loving father'. But he distributed them so as to preface the single letters.

It is meet at this point to urge an observation of von Soden.² In each one of the lists of chapters in the Paulines has, in 'Euthalius' edition, not one but two headings. The first always runs Ἐκθεσις κεφαλαίων καθολικῶν τῆς πρὸς . . . ἐπιστολῆς. The second simply κεφάλαια τῆς πρὸς . . . ἐπιστολῆς. This strange duplication is explained by reference to the headings of Romans. The first of these two deviates from the standard of the others. It runs, Ἐκθεσις κεφαλαίων καθολικῶν τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολῆς, but the second reads κεφ. καθ. καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπιστολήν τοῦ ἀποστόλου: the very phrase which X received into his prologue. It is the heading of the list of the chapters of all Epistles. Necessarily, the list being ranged καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπιστολήν, this general heading was followed by that referring to the first letter in the corpus. This, then, is what 'Euthalius' as it was in his model. But the 'Christ-loving father' could not be guilty of the senseless duplication in the following headlines. His list would logically continue, after enumeration of the 'chapters' in Romans, with a second subsidiary heading, on the model of the first, indicating the summary, now following, of the second letter. This is indeed observed: κεφάλαια τῆς πρὸς Κορινθίους α' ἐπιστολῆς, and so on for the whole corpus. The doubles preceding every one of these subordinate headlines were coined by X on the model of the general one prefixed to the whole corpus. The recurring collective καθολικῶν ('the sum total') was in place there, but is so abundant in its counterfeits. To produce these X was actuated by the desire to specify, on a fixed pattern, a modest innovation of his own. As he professes in the short preface to the list of chapters in Acts, he had indicated by vermilion the subdivisions ὑποδιαίρέσεις which his exemplar contained (cf. also the πρόλογος of the table of μαρτυρίαι in the Catholic Epistles). The announcement of this feat he added also to the general heading of the Pauline κεφάλαια. But observing that ὑποδιαίρέσεις were lacking in some of the Epistles and absent from others, he

¹ Zac. 523 ff. = P. G. lxxxv. 702 ff.

² *Die Schriften des N. T.* i, 1902, 664.

decided to prevent all vagueness concerning this momentous fact. Therefore, while copying the subordinate headings, without a change, from his exemplar, he prefixed to each of this relevant information, which he worded as nearly as possible in accordance with the passage in which it was contained and in a general way.

I cherish no illusions with regard to the dullness of this analysis just completed. Anyhow, it results in a clearer conception of the equipment of the 'Christ-loving father's' work and the use which 'Euthalius' made of it. It was a text of Acts and Epistles—the headings clearly refer to a text—where κεφάλαια and subdivisions marked by figures¹ in the margins. These figures corresponded with those of the κεφάλαια 'set out' in the ἐκθέσεις prefixed to each of the three main sections, viz. Acts, Catholic Epistles, and Paulines.

So far 'Euthalius' use of his model amounts to little more than plain copying. That he drew upon the same source as for his tables of ἀναγνώσεις and μαρτυρίαι is, less clearly, hinted at in the second part of the statement quoted above, p. 78. It may be rendered: 'I have devised a skilful scheme for summarizing accurately the ἀναγνώσεις and ascertaining comfortably quotations: in going through the text I have compiled tables of them.' Be it noted that X does not claim to have devised the tables, traced, either of the objects summarized: his achievement was not their establishment, but a handy scheme for referring to them. These again he treats as a given entity. He compiled then, not 'going through the text'—not his own text but, we may assume, that of the 'Christ-loving father'.

We are given what we were led to expect, and that in the order announced.² 'The most accurate division of the ἀναγνώσεις' comes first, in the form of a table with the number of chapters, verses, and quotations contained in each and all of them.³ It is followed by the closely analogous table of qu

¹ The subdivisions were perhaps indicated by asterisks; cf. below, p. 109.

² In the other two prologues the statistical tables are only briefly indicated. In Acts (Zac. 409 = P. G. lxxxv. 634 B-C) "πῶς ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι" hints at the ἀνακεφαλαιώσεις of ἀναγνώσεις and μαρτυρίαι, and "Διελεῖν . . . τὸν νοῦν" at the lists of chapters. The prologue of the Catholic Epistles (Zac. 411 = P. G. lxxxv. 668 B) does not mention the ἀναγνώσεις at all. This omission may be due to an error in copying (cf. von Soden, l.c. 673). X is likely to have written . . . τὴν τῶν κεφαλαίων ἐκθεσιν ἅμα καὶ τῶν ἀναγνώσεων κεφαλαίων μαρτυριῶν μετρίως ἐνθένδε ποιούμενος.

³ Zac. 537 = P. G. lxxxv. 716 B.

ns which is perfectly suited to fulfil the purpose announced in the prologue.¹

There is a definite piece of evidence about the origin also of this pair of tables. It turns the probabilities so far reached into certainties. The list of ἀναγνώσεις is followed by a general statement—a kind of colophon²: Διεῖλον τὰς ἀναγνώσεις καὶ ἐστί-
να πᾶσαν τὴν ἀποστολικὴν βίβλον ἀκριβῶς κατὰ πεντήκοντα στί-
χους, καὶ τὰ κεφάλαια ἐκάστης ἀναγνώσεως παρέθηκα καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ
ὑπάρχουσας μαρτυρίας· ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὅσων στίχων ἢ ἀνάγνωσις τυγχάνει.

This was not originally written by the author of the prologues and compiler of the tables. It does not refer to the preceding κεφαλαιώσεις but to the text of the Epistles. 'Ἐστίχισα κατὰ πεντήκοντα στίχους in particular has no bearing whatever upon the table. Besides, it implies the Alexandrian standard lines of sixteen syllables. The text edited by X was written in a form upon which this στιχισμός could not be carried out.

This passage, then, is a colophon. Originally it was written under the exemplar which X 'ἀνεγίνωσκε'. Its writer is here giving evidence of his work in a general way. In a sentence immediately preceding the present passage it is he again, summing up the various items: 'Ὁμοῦ τῶν δεκατεσσάρων ἐπιστολῶν . . . : the very clause which started the present inquiry; the total of the labours described in the Διεῖλον . . . passage. All together formed the subscription of the book whose text he went through' in compiling his tables. The first sentence, then, of this final subscription resulted from the adding up of the analogous subscriptions of the single Epistles. They are preserved in, and form the essence of, the table of ἀναγνώσεις.

The compiler X could indeed 'go through the text of the epistles' speedily and with ease. His exemplar provided him with everything he desired: the indication of ἀναγνώσεις, μαρτυρίαι, and κεφάλαια, numbered, counted, and added up. All he had to do was to write out the headings and subscriptions and bring them together in his lists. Nor does he really claim to have done more than this. And so mechanical was his procedure

Zac. 542 = *P. G.* lxxxv. 720 c. This table is followed by a pointless second exhibiting the full text of all quotations in the order in which they occur in the text. This list is not foreshadowed in the prologue. von Soden, l.c. gives strong reasons for regarding it as non-'Euthalian'. Yet its πρόλογος (Zac. 548 = *P. G.* lxxxv. 725 b) is in the 'Euthalian' vein, and stylistically superior to that of the shorter list (Zac. 542 = *P. G.* lxxxv. 720 b-c) which looks rather like an extract of it. Possibly then also the second list may be due to X's uninspired pen.

Zac. 541 = *P. G.* lxxxv. 720 b.

that he adopted also the counting and summing up of στίχοι which had no bearing upon his edition,¹ and that he took over without any alteration, also the subscription of his predecessor.

Our idea of the 'Christ-loving father's' manuscript is becoming concrete. In addition to the features noted above it is now seen to have contained the equipment summarized in the 'Ομοῦ-τῶν-πάντων subscription and described in the ensuing Διεῖλον . . . colophon. Both these do not mention the ἐκθέσεις κεφαλαίων because it, as was inferred above, did not form part of the text. It was prefixed to it, immediately after the general index (πῖναξ) Τάδε ἔνεστιν κτλ., i.e. 'This book contains . . . which was likewise devotedly copied out by 'Euthalius'.² It has its apposite place at the very beginning of the book. 'Euthalius' left it where he found it, that is, before the ἐκθέσεις. But he prefixed to it his prologue and compiled tables. Hence its present, absurd, position.

It was worth while thus going into detail because, as the reader will already have inferred, the model manuscript here visualized was the 'autograph of the holy Pamphilus' referred to in the Philoxenian colophon. The converging arguments which support this conclusion are four:

(1) It had been concluded, from the Philoxenian colophon, that the 'Ομοῦ-τῶν-πάντων clause had not there been taken from a remote place in the 'Euthalian' prolegomena, but formed part of the subscription of Pamphilus' autograph. The analysis of the 'Euthalian' material has shown that its compiler indeed took this clause from the subscription of his model manuscript. Hence, the 'Christ-loving father' is Pamphilus. Identical subscriptions recurring at the analogous places in the Acts and Catholic Epistles³ confirm the inference for the whole 'Euthalian' corpus.

(2) The ἐκθέσεις κεφαλαίων were found to have been taken over by 'Euthalius', from the same *Vorlage* as the ἀναγνώσεις. The 'Euthalian' chapter-table of Acts is prefixed also to a group

¹ The στιχισμός marking every fiftieth verse is, for a great part, indicated in, and reported from, Zacagni's 'Codex Regio-Alexandrinus' (= Zacagni's Greg. = α 101 von Soden). There is an error in the final summing up. Zacagni's numbers of στίχοι give a total of 4,946, not 4,936. The latter figure is guaranteed by sufficient and independent evidence. It is possible that X retained it in spite of an error of 10 which had crept in somewhere into his partial summaries. Yet there is also the possibility of transcription error in the latter.

² Zac. 569 = P. G. lxxxv. 745 C.

³ Zac. 413 bottom = P. G. lxxxv. 638 C and Zac. 479 = P. G. lxxxv. 669 A-B.

non-‘Euthalian’ MSS. which is marked by the addition of commentary by an (unidentified) Andreas. von Soden mentions four such manuscripts.¹ In them this table is inscribed

ΘΕΙΣ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΑΞΕΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΥ.

3) There is a definite relation, not yet cleared up in detail, between the ‘Euthalian’ divisions of Acts and those in codd. A and B, and also in codd. Amiatinus and Fuldensis of the Vulgate.² Seeing that otherwise there is no trace of the ‘Euthalian’ apparatus in these Greek and Latin manuscripts, this relation points back to a common original. This holds good, not only for the divisions, but also for the chapter-headings; for those of Heb. 1–12 recur in cod. Fuldensis.³ The common centre influencing ‘Euthalius’, the great Uncials, and the Vulgate can hardly have been any other but Caesarea.

4) An identical subscription, modelled on various passages from the ‘Euthalian’ prologues and testifying to collation with Pamphilus’ autograph, recurs under the Greek ‘Euthalian’ MSS. H and 88 as well as under the Armenian ‘Euthalius’ MSS. and in the Philoxenian colophon.⁴ It is naïve to ascribe this coincidence to the caprice of an obscure scribe miraculously perpetuated in manuscripts not directly interdependent. This subscription was an integral part of the original equipment of the *ἑκδοσίς*. In the manner discussed above, pp. 18 ff., it guaranteed the authenticity of the copies issued by the Caesarean scriptorium. Hence it is written, at least in H, not in the cursive characteristic of notes added by individual scribes, but in the same proud uncial as the text and the κεφάλαια.

‘Euthalius’ belongs to the Caesarean school. He calls his teacher ‘the Christ-loving father’ whom we have identified with Pamphilus,⁵ and dates the death of Paul on the 5th day of the month of Artemios⁶ in accordance with the calendar of Caesarea, where he must have done his work based on Pamphilus’ autograph.

von Soden, l.c. 683, lists A^{pp} 11 (Coislin. 25 = Greg. 307),²¹ (Paris. Bibl. Gr. 221 = Greg. 610),⁴⁰ (Rom. Barb. vi. 21 = Greg. 453), and⁴¹ (Athos, Vat. 770 = Greg. 1678). From the first-mentioned already Montfaucon inferred the authorship of Pamphilus (cf. *Euthaliana* 21), and von Soden (l.c. 671) considered the same possibility.

Cf. Robinson, l.c. 24 and 36; R. Harris, *Stichometry*, 1893, 74; von Soden, l.c. 440.

E. Ranke, *Codex Fuldensis*, 1868, pp. 312 and 492 (= P. G. lxxxv. 1–779A). S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, 1893, 358, mentions also the Vat. Regin. 9 for this capitulation.

Cf. above, pp. 15 and 24.

⁵ Zac. 428 = P. G. lxxxv. 652 B.

Zac. 522 = P. G. lxxxv. 701 A.

The conclusion that the Greek model of the Philoxenian version was a 'Euthalian' ἐκδόσις will be substantiated in a later chapter. Here the obvious inference may be stressed that the text edited by 'Euthalius' was a Caesarean text, more precisely, that of Pamphilus. Obviously the labours of a scholar like Pamphilus, centred upon the text itself, and not upon its equipment, however painstakingly carried out, with στιχισμός and ἐκθεσις, &c. These were the paraphernalia of a scholar's production. Considering the self-effacing devotion with which X took over every detail of the equipment of his model, it would be unnatural to assume that he grafted all this upon a text different from Pamphilus'. This remote possibility is finally excluded by two considerations: (1) X adopted also the counting *stichoi* from his original; he could not possibly have applied it to a different text. (2) The very purpose of the subscription just referred to is to guarantee the identity of original and copy in the present case, of Pamphilus' autograph and the text of the 'Euthalian' ἐκδόσεις.

So far the achievements of 'Euthalius' would appear to call for scant admiration. We proceed to gain for him a little more credit by surveying the remainder of his labours. This will serve to strengthen the ties connecting him with Caesarea and to specify the character of the Greek manuscript used by Polycarp the Syrian. Incidentally we shall gain a subsidiary argument for denying 'Euthalius' the authorship of the Διείληψαι clause, thus reinforcing the foundations of our main thesis. X cannot have devised this clause, and therefore must have taken it over from his exemplar, because he uses the word στίχος in a different sense.

The compiler X, commonly called Euthalius, is generally supposed to have written his text κατὰ κῶλα καὶ κόμματα. P. Corsse protested.¹ Excellent philologist as he was, he urged that ἐστίχισα κατὰ πεντήκοντα στίχους could not be said with reference to a text written in 'sense-lines'. Corssen was perfectly right. The objection disappears if 'Euthalius' is recognized to have slavishly copied this phrase, and all that goes with it, from a text arranged, not in sense-, but in syllable-lines. But what do we really know of the outward appearance of 'Euthalius' autograph?

¹ *Epistularum Paulin. codices . . . Specimen alterum*, 1889, 10; *Göttinger Geogr. Anz.* 1899, 675.

C. 'EUTHALIUS' THE GRAMMARIAN

Reading κατὰ προσωδίαν καὶ κατὰ Διαστολήν

The Pauline prologue recounts only part of the labours which X bestowed upon his editions. When the indications of the other two prologues are taken into account, it is clear that he applied to his text the traditional methods of the contemporary grammarians. Already the great Alexandrian scholars of the Hellenistic age had prefixed a brief note ('hypothesis') about its subject and date to every drama edited by them. In the imperial period prolegomena of increasing size and scope were provided for the needs of the ordinary reader, the hypothesis developing into a full narration, and a 'Life and Works' of the poet preceding the text. Philosophers similarly produced 'Introductions to Plato's philosophy' to ease the access to his dialogues. The increasing adoption of chapter-divisions and indexes has been referred to above. Classroom texts of the school authors moreover had their *dicta* prefixed to their works and even used special symbols to mark outstanding passages for quotation. Medieval manuscripts, both Greek (e.g. Pindar and Euripides) and Latin (e.g. Macrobius), show the original topology with prefatory and explanatory matter.

X-'Euthalius' clearly has his place in this line of development. He betrays his allegiance to the grammarians' guild by using one of their esoteric terms. His patron Athanasius (whom, significantly, he praises as φιλόλογος ἄγαν) had asked him to διγνῶναι κατὰ προσωδίαν the remaining books; and he has obeyed.¹ The grammarian's basic efforts centre upon ἀνάγνωσις: he transforms the indistinct, dead *grammata* into *viva vox*. Πῶς ἀγνώστειον; is his stock-question, and he trains his pupils to do justice to their authors by reading them (a) καθ' ὑπόκρισιν, i.e. with the appropriate expression; (b) κατὰ προσωδίαν, i.e. giving each word the right pitch and tone; and (c) κατὰ Διαστολήν, i.e. observing the intervals.²

Zac. 409 bottom = P. G. lxxxv. 633 B. Read [Τοῖος] τοιγαροῦν φιλόλογος ἀρχὼν ἀλήκτως (cf. P. G. lxxxv. 668 A) τε ταύτην (X's μελέτη, centred upon ἀνάγνωσις), ὃ φίλος, γεραίρων κτλ. The choice Atticism ὃ φίλος is outstripped by the analogous vocative in the preface to the Catholic Epistles; there the personifying ὃ φίλη μοι κεφαλὴ contrasts oddly with the Christian and Byzantine devotion of the preceding ἀδελφεῖ Ἀθανάσιε τιμιώτατε (Zac. 476 = P. G. lxxxv. 668 A).

This is the system laid down in the standard handbook of Dionysius of Alexandria. Cf. generally W. G. Rutherford, *A Chapter in the History of Annotation* (1905, *passim*). The ancient Fathers expected from their audiences

There is no indication that X busied himself with the first of these three divisions: the time had not yet arrived when signs for ὑπόκρισις were invented. The remaining two features of the text in a carefully edited book are mentioned, for example, by Gregorius Syncellus. In the passage quoted above, p. 10, note 4, he extols a manuscript as λίαν ἡκριβωμένον κατὰ τὴν στιγμὴν καὶ προσωδίαν. Προσωδία concerns the perception and rendering of the single word. The grammarian here helps the reader by providing the *grammata* with signs intimating the correct ἀνάγνωσις. Originally there had been three of these, the well-known 'accents' (προσωδίαι) indicating the τόνος. Yet in the age when X 'read' the sacred text, seven more signs had been subsumed under the heading προσωδία, viz. those indicating the quantity of vowels, and the breathings (spiritus) as well as the πάθη, viz. the hyphen and the ὑποδιαστολή, preventing the faulty combination of letters, and also the apostrophes. Marking all these was really more than what τονίζειν originally implied; hence this operation was now occasionally termed στίζειν ('marking') κατὰ προσωδίαν.¹

This, then, was one task which X performed² in addition to those claimed in the Pauline prologue. But his ἀνάγνωσις bore other fruit,³ again from the grammarians' nursery. The exertions in securing adequate interpretation of the *grammata* did not end with disentangling the single words. Reading κατὰ

a better knowledge of grammatical terminology than is displayed by the modern interpreters. In his 34th homily on I Corinthians, Chrysostom tests an exegesis which in his view overcharged the text. He adds (p. 31 Montfaucon, *P. G.* lxi. 293) καὶ τί λέγω "παρὰ προσθήκην καὶ ἀφαίρεσιν" (alluding to the etymological terms πρόσθεσις and ἀφαίρεσις) παρὰ στιγμὴν καὶ παρὰ ὑπόκρισιν μόνην ἀναγνώσεως πολλὰ πολλάκις ἄτοπα ἐτέχθη νοήματα.

¹ Epiphanius, *De pond. et mens.* 2 (*P. G.* xliii. 237 B; written A.D. 375) gives the list of the ten προσωδίαι mentioned in the text above "ἐπεὶ δέ τινες κατὰ προσωδίαν ἔστιξαν τὰς γραφάς" (cf. *The Amherst Papyri*, *Pap.* 1901, p. 19, No. xxi, and generally B. Laum, *Das Alexandrinische Akzentuationssystem*, 1928, 27). About a century later the Mauretanian Pompeius, pathetic expositor of Donatus' grammar, in expounding the chapter *On accents*, advises his pupils (v, p. 132, 1 Keil): *Quod si vis codicem distinguere* (= στίζειν), *ita distingue*: and then enumerates the same ten 'accents'.

² This was the view already of C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik*, ii, 1902, 8 and 902.

³ Most students have taken ἀναγνῶναι κατὰ προσωδίαν to refer to the further labours which we are about to discuss (e.g. Robinson, *Euth.* 11). This, however, is most improbable in view both of the special connotation of this term and of the relevant text. . . . Ἀθανάσιε προσφιλίστατε. Καὶ τοῦ ἀόκνως ἐγὼ πεποιηκώς, στιχηδὸν **ΤΕ** συνθεις τούτων τὸ ὕφος κτλ.

στολήν, Dionysius' third heading, was to convey τὸν ἐμπερι-
 μενον νοῦν. This implies, so explains his scholiast, the χωρισμός
 διανοιῶν. It is exposed by the punctuation marks, the
 στολαί or στιγμαί. Τὸ στίζειν καὶ τονίζειν was commonly regarded
 the characteristic task of the grammarian prior to, and helpful
 exegesis.¹ Accordingly the ancient commentaries on the
 classic poets abound with notes of the type στικτέον εἰς τὸ . . . ,
 conducive to the correct division of phrases.² At this point,
 however, the all-pervading influence of rhetoric affected the
 grammatical theory and practice.³ The normal curriculum of
 education led from the elementary grammar-course to rhetorical
 training. There, too, the study of the classical writers played
 prominent part; but the rhetorician's approach was different
 from the grammarian's. He expounded the classics, Homer
 and Virgil as well as Demosthenes and Cicero, as patterns of
 rhetorical perfection, and with a view to effective recitation.
 The latter depends upon the correct application of breath;
 hence the technique of the πνεῦμα, with a suitable distribution
 ἀναπαύσεις, affected the rhetor's analysis of the texts.⁴ Natur-
 ally he inserted pauses in accordance with the structure of the
 phrases; yet the limitations of the human breath would now
 all then necessitate a slight break not demanded by the sense.⁵
 The grammarian when στίζων tended to concentrate on those
 places where the appreciation of the sense could be affected by
 correct *distinctio*; the rhetorician on the other hand wanted
 the whole repertoire minutely analysed. Yet, their subjects be-
 ing the same classical authors, and all reading with the ancients
 going aloud, it is not surprising that the grammarians' method
 of punctuation should have been modified by the exigencies of
 rhetoric. Dionysius Thrax originally taught only two varieties
 of Pseudo-Troilus *apud* Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, vi, 1834, p. 45, 26 = Rabe,
Regomenon Sylloge, 1931, p. 48, 14. Similar statements are frequent; e.g.
 Le, l.c., p. 109, 6: ἡ γραμματικὴ περὶ πνεύματα καὶ τόνους καὶ στιγμὰς καὶ τὰ
 ἄλλα.
 Eusebius is found on the same path. In his *Quaestiones ad Marimum*
 (Mai, *Nova Patr. Bibl.* iv, 1847, 255) he suggests an ingenious application
 of πιαστολή and ὑποστιγμή as a means for reconciling the Marcan (16. 9)
 and Matthaean (28. 1) narratives of the resurrection. His mode of arguing
 in these *Quaestiones* is exactly like that which the Greek philologists, since
 the days of Aristotle, used at their favourite pastime, the ζητήματα καὶ λύσεις
 ἀπορικαί.
 On the relations between grammarians and rhetoricians cf. E. Rohde,
griechische Roman, 1876, 328.
 Cf. Hermogenes, *De invent.* iv. 4 (p. 183, 10 Rabe).
 Cf. Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* xi. 3. 39.

of punctuation marks, the στιγμή and ὑποστιγή, indicating whether or not the sense was complete.¹ Yet all Greek manuscripts of his widely influential compendium have the μέση στιγμή inserted, and the 'full-stop' renamed τελεία. Both these are rhetors' contrivances. To describe the parts of speech to which the reciter's breath could accommodate itself, the rhetors had very early adopted a set of terms from the theory of music and of metrics.² Περίοδος, κῶλον, and κόμμα in the original setting had each conveyed a distinct and well-defined meaning. Their transfer to the analysis of prose involved some ambiguity, because there the criterion of a definite metre did not apply. Yet a rough distinction according to the length of the relevant clauses was widely, though by no means generally agreed upon, and punctuation used accordingly.⁴ The grammarians agreed,⁵ as, indeed, this kind of distinction admirably served the original purpose of διαστολή, viz. the elucidation of the sense. By and by *comma* and *colon*, formerly parts of the phrase denoted the signs by which these parts were distinguished.⁶

Cassiodorus has much to say in praise of this kind of punctuation. In guiding those among his monks whom their *cognita divinarum et saecularium litterarum* enable to correct (*relegere* = ἀναγινώσκειν) the *sacras lectiones* (i.e. *texts*),⁷ he urges them to ins-

¹ Dionysius Thrax, cap. iv, ed. Uhlig, p. 7; cf. Rutherford, op. cit. I, after G. Uhlig, *Zur Wiederherstellung des ältesten Compendiums* . . ., 1882, p. 1.

² Cf. Suidas s.v. Θρασύμαχος, and *Etym. Magn.* s.v. κῶλα.

³ Sergius, *In Donat.* (ed. Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* iv, p. 485. 1), '... verum meminimus in prosa cola et commata idem esse, . . . in versu vero aliter et diversum'. Pompeius (cf. above, p. 90, note 1), p. 133, '... apud oratores indifferens est, apud poetas multum interest inter colon et comma'. Cf. the commentaries on Cicero, *Orator*, 211.

⁴ Anon., *De octo partibus orationis* (*Rhet. Graeci*, ed. Walz, iii, 1834, 56). Ἀνάπαυσις ἐστὶν ἢ κατὰληξις τοῦ κῶλου, ἔνθα καὶ στίζομεν.

⁵ Diomedes (*Art. gram.* ii, p. 437 in *Gramm. Lat.* i, Keil), regulates the use of punctuation marks in accordance with breathing and sense, and uses the same criteria (p. 466. 20) in distinguishing period, colon, and comma. Similarly Pompeius, op. cit., p. 133.

⁶ Isidorus, *Origines*, i. 19. 2, 'Prima positura (θέσις = στιγμή = distinctio) subdistinctio (ὑποστιγή) dicitur, eadem et comma est. Media distinctio . . . colon'. Cf. *Gramm. Lat. Suppl.*, p. 231. 6, 'per colon media intellegitur distinctio, per comma subdistinctio'. The Papias glossary (quoted by Forcellini s.v. *colon*) defines *colon* in accordance with Hermogenes and adds 'et medium distinctionem vocamus (*scil.* the colon), quod punctum a medio literam ponimus'. Vice versa, Greek rhetors use στίζειν in the sense of 'to pause' (e.g. schol. Eur. *Or.* 216), and already Quintilian regards the punctuation marks as guides for the economy of breath (xi. 3. 35 ff.).

⁷ Cassiodori Senatoris *Institutiones*, ed. Mynors, 1937, i. 15. 1, p. 41. 20.

τελεία, μέση, and ὑποστιγμή invented for the regulation of the orator's breath, 'quoniam illustrem et planissimam faciunt orationem'. 'Per membra dividere': this is the way to disclose the *sensus sacratissimos* and to guide the voice in rendering them.¹ 'Euthalius' is found on the same track. Him, too, elevated ἀνάγνωσις has led ὁσημέραι πρὸς θεωρίαν τῆς τῶν καλῶν πρὸς² ('venas praeceptorum saluberrimas subtiliter introire', Cassiodorus puts it) by ascertaining the τομαί of the sacred text.³ He has done what Cicero calls *incidere particulas*,⁴ dividing,

b. i. 15. 12, p. 48. 10 ff.

² Zac. 409 = P. G. lxxxv. 633 B.

Zac. 405 = P. G. lxxxv. 629 B.

Cicero, *Orator*, 204 (cf. *De orat.* iii. 217); cf. Aquila Romanus, *De figuris* (in the Greek of Alexander Numenii) 41, p. 35. 18 Halm: *in qua figura est the asyndeton) sic incidere solemus*. Τομή and τέμνειν are normally used in the theory of metrics—τομή is *caesura* (equalling *incisio* or *sectio*, see Hagedorn, p. 497 f., Keil)—but are only rarely applied to prose. Yet the following instances can show, in addition to those just quoted, that both rhetoricians and grammarians used it with reference also to the latter. Hagedorn and Scott s.v. τομή give no help here, the instances quoted refer not as alleged, to prose, but to the *caesurae* of verses.) (1) Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Thucyd.* 9 (p. 336. 17 Usener-Radermacher), remarks on the Thucydidean arrangement of the subject-matter resulted in a division εἰς μικρὰς κατακερματισμένην τομὰς. (2) The term *τηητικός λόγος*, frequent in rhetorical theory (e.g. Dionys. Hal., *De Demosth. vi dicendi* 58; Hermogenes, *De figuris*, ii. 1, p. 295. 17 Walz, &c.), testifies to the use of the verb τέμνειν. The *τηητικός λόγος* is often, as by Hermogenes (op. cit., 300), said to result from τέμνειν τὰ πράγματα; yet one of his scholiasts defines it as τὸν διὰ βραχυτήτος τῶν κώλων καὶ τῶν ταχειῶν ἐννοιῶν τέμνειν τὰ τὸν λόγον. (3) With reference in particular to *cola* and *commata* this was occasionally used also by grammarians; here again in adaptation to the theory of metrics. This usage is contested (and thereby its existence established) in a scholion in the metrical handbook of Hephaestion (p. 16 Consbruch) οἱ δὲ νομίσαντες κόμμα εἶναι τὴν τομήν τῆς λέξεως ἀμαρτάνουσιν· οὐ γὰρ τῶν μερῶν τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλὰ τῶν συζυγιῶν ὄνομα τὸ κόμμα ἐστίν. This scholion helps to recover the sense of Suidas's corrupt article κῶλον. The words cannot be restored with any degree of certainty; yet the trend of the definition is clear from many parallels. It may be intimated by the following tentative reconstruction: κῶλον· μόριον λόγου ἐκ δύο ἢ καὶ πλείονων ὑποσυσταμένων· τὰς συζυγίας γὰρ τέμνουσι (τὰ κόμματα, τῶν ποδῶν (or, with Hermann, τῶν ὀνομάτων)) καὶ τὰ κῶλα, τῶν νοημάτων; cf. Quintilian, ix. 4. 16 'per incisum (i.e. κόμμα), . . . erit sensus non expleto numero conclusus, per membrum (i.e. κῶλον) autem est sensus numeris conclusus'; Priscianus, vi. 4 (ii. 460. 12 Hertz) 'per cola divisio separat integras partes orationis, per commata similiter'; see also Marius Victorinus in *Gramm. Lat.* vi. 54. 8 K. 'igitur colon, cum integrae fuerint syzygiae, comma vero, cum imperata'. Cledonius (*Gramm. Lat.* v. 34. 7 K.), by an obvious error, has made *cola* and *colon* to exchange their places; otherwise his brief formula (here

and thus articulating, the flow of the speech: *per membra dividenda* to use the words of Cassiodorus. Thus, divided κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συμμετρίαν, that is, as he perceived its structure, X submits the sacred text to his brethren πρὸς εὐσημον ἀνάγνωσιν.¹

(2) *Writing 'per cola et commata'*

X, then, is again found working on the lines of the contemporary grammarians. But he indicated his τομαί by what he claims to be an innovation at least with regard to the book which he edited: he 'read and wrote' the text στιχηδόν, κατὰ στίχους.² This expression has no parallel in Greek grammatical writings. The question is whether the procedure which it denotes was also a step beyond the accepted methods of Greek grammarians.

This question is far more involved than would appear from the modern handbooks; it is further complicated by the confusion, still rampant, of the terms *stichometry* and *colometry*. What X means must amount to the use of some kind of 'sentences'. On the basis of the isolated witness of Jerome⁴ (echoed by Cassiodorus) it is assumed that X was following an established custom; that, in manuscripts emanating from the contemporary schools of rhetoric, the text of the classical orators was broken up into *cola* and *commata*. But the evidence for this assumption has never been sifted, nor have its implications been considered.

The truth is that neither does X refer to this alleged precedent (corrected) is instructive: 'colon est caesura finita cum sensu, comma caesura curta'. Cf. also Sergius, *In Donatum* (*Gramm. Lat.* iv. 485. 1 K.) Pompeius ib. v. 281. 33. Interpreted, then, in the light of these parallels Suidas yields another testimony for the use of τέμνειν with reference to prose. The incisions of speech corresponding with the incisions of thought: the τομαί are the τομαί to which 'Euthalius' as well as the grammarians refer.

¹ Zac. 409-10 = P. G. lxxxv. 633c.

² Zac. 404 = P. G. lxxxv. 630A; Zac. 409 = P. G. lxxxv. 633c; Zac. 477 = P. G. lxxxv. 668B. It would be useless listing the typical itacistic misspellings of the term.

³ In 1891 W. Sanday wrote (*Studia Biblica*, iii. 262): 'The first thing to be done is to clear the mind of a deep-rooted confusion between stichometry and that method of writing which is properly described as *per cola et commata*.' As yet this 'first thing' is by no means generally done. The *Introduction to Greek and Roman Palaeography*, by Sir E. Maunde Thompson, 1912, 69 is a case in point. Also the relevant writings of R. Schütz (*Die parallele Bau der Satzglieder im N.T.*, 1920, and an article in *Z.N.T.W.* x. 1920, 161), are in their historical foundations vitiated by the misrepresentation of the sources.

⁴ In the preface to his version of Isaiah; cf. below, p. 98, note 3.

has any other reference to it been found anywhere in Greek or Latin literature, whether pagan or Christian.¹ *Cola* and *anapaests* of course were the rhetorician's daily bread. His own compositions as well as his exegesis and recitation of the classics were based on them. That does not imply that in his texts they were written on separate lines. Dionysius of Halicarnassus² and Hermogenes³ were able to distinguish the *cola* in Thucydides and Demosthenes, without a crib. If some aid was wanted, there was punctuation.

There are, however, certain analogies which can serve to illustrate Jerome's statement and to account for what is suggested by X-*'Euthalius'* and actually found in some manuscripts. There are, first, the texts of the poets. *'Stichic'* texts, like the epic hexameter and the dramatic trimeter, had been written on separate lines from time immemorial. Moreover, the great Alexandrian grammarians had similarly made use of the metrical structure also of lyrical poetry and of the choral passages in the dramas.⁴ The metrical *cola* as separated from the prose were commented upon by metricians. Κωλομετρία is the technical designation of these metrical commentaries. Of the Alexandrian grammarian Eugenius, who about A.D. 500 taught at the imperial high school at Constantinople, Suidas reports ἔγραψε κωλομετρίαν τῶν μελικῶν Αἰσχύλου, Σοφοκλέους, Εὐριπίδου. The same had been done for Aristophanes, in the second century, by Didymus. By such κωλομετρίαι the verse distribution in newly written manuscripts was checked and corrected.⁵ Κεκώλισταί τινες τῶν (or ἐκ τῶν) *'Ἡλιοδώρου* states a note under Aristophanes' *Clouds* in the Venice MS. A somewhat obscure precedent of the fifth-century historian Olympiodorus⁶ refers to κεκωλισμένα βιβλία. One Philtadius, a master-grammarian, is told, was honoured by the Athenians for explaining

anyone desiring to test this assertion is invited to look up in their text the passages from Pseudo-Castor of Rhodes (a tenth-century *falsum* according to W. Studemund) and John of Sicily (eleventh century) which were bequeathed to his misled disciples, from Rendel Harris (*Stichometry*, p. 10) to R. Schütz (*Z.N.T.W.* xxi, 1922, 171).

de compos. verb. 113, 167, 200, &c.

de invent. iv. 4 (p. 183, 13 Rabe).

The principles followed by them have been discussed by P. Maas, *Philologus*, lxiii, n.f. xvii, 1904, 297 ff., esp. 306. He finds the grammarian's main purpose in *'Verdeutlichung des metrischen Charakters'*.

cf. Rutherford, l.c. 88.

Olympiodorus, *Hist.*, fg. 32 (*Histor. Graeci Minores*, ed. L. Dindorf, p. 463; C. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* iv, 1851, p. 64).

to them 'the measure of the colon' in these books. The strange expression τὸ μέτρον τοῦ κώλου suggests a poetical text: prose cola are not 'measured'.¹

If the editors of poetry used to separate the metrical *cola*, the assumption might appear not too far-fetched that in prose too the rhetorical *cola* might have been indicated in a similar way. Certain scribal habits would appear to render this assumption even less hazardous. It was customary, in documents as well as in literary texts, to mark a new section by a new *a-linea* or at least by throwing the initial letter of its first complete line to the left.² On the other hand, there was, besides punctuation, another and probably older way of marking the divisions of a text, namely by leaving a short blank between the letters. In a papyrus of Demosthenes and Hypereides, dating from the second century B.C., this device has been used (together with the paragraphos) to indicate, not only the main sections, but the actual structure of the sentences.³

These two devices combined could have led, so it might be argued, to the representation, on the model of the poetical texts, of the rhetorical structure of prose texts by separating the divisions and subdivisions of the phrases. There is, in fact, one instance of a rhetor treating a text in this way. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De compositione verborum*, xxvi. 221, is at pains to demonstrate that the stylistic qualities of choric lyrics and of elevated prose are wellnigh identical. In evidence he quotes a long passage from Simonides' *Danaë* arranged, 'not in (metrical) *cola* as set out by Aristophanes (of Byzantium) but in those demanded by prose speech'.⁴ The reference to the original verse division makes it almost certain that Dionysius indicated his sham διαστολαί, not by punctuation marks, but by assigning a separate line to each rhetorical *colon*. In their classrooms, other teachers of rhetoric may have done the same in order to illustrate the structure of classical prose. It is e

¹ Nor are they counted, as are the στίχοι. The words 'colometry' or 'colometrical' are therefore best avoided in references to prose texts.

² Cf. U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge der Papyrskunde*, i, 1912, p. xlvi; Guil. Fl. *De Graecorum interpunctionibus*, 1908, 18 ff. The same system is frequently met with in biblical manuscripts and has there often been erroneously described as the arrangement *per cola et commata*.

³ F. G. Kenyon, *Classical Texts from Papyri in the British Museum*, 1892, 42 ff., with plates ii and iii.

⁴ In perpetrating a similar sacrilege against one of Goethe's epigrams R. Schütz (*Z.N.T.W.* xxi, 1920, 181) appears to have been unaware that he had a predecessor in Dionysius.

receivable that for teaching purposes 'Selected Passages from Classics' may have been issued in this form.

It is still a long way from such classroom devices to real editions. Now we happen to know of one prose author who really used κατὰ κῶλα. Proclus, the Neoplatonic school-head in the fifth century, refers¹ to the κεκωλισμένα ἀντίγραφα of Plato which appear to have been current in Neoplatonist circles. In these manuscripts, then, the *cola* were indicated, and that hardly by punctuation only: the analogy of the κεκωλισμένα ἀντίγραφα of Aristophanes suggests an arrangement of the text κατὰ κῶλα. The question is: What kind of κῶλα were thus indicated? It seems impossible to visualize a complete text of Plato broken up into the minute particles of rhetorical analysis.²

It may be urged that it is not the rhetors who produce editions of the classics but the grammarians; although—as was mentioned before—the views and practices of the latter were influenced by those of the former. A κεκωλισμένη ἔκδοσις bearing marks of this particular form of grammatical technique appears to be preserved.

The modern printed texts of Cicero's *Tusculanae disputationes* are based on a group of four ninth-century manuscripts all of which represent, with varying accuracy, a common archetype. This archetype was a κεκωλισμένη ἔκδοσις. Its arrangement *per et commata* is most faithfully reproduced in cod. Paris. Bibl. Lat. 6332, and in Vat. Lat. 3246.³ From the available facsimiles the following facts emerge. A new line, with an uncial capital thrown to the left, is used after every complete sentence, whether short or long; where a long period falls into two or three clauses of comparative completeness (as i. 117 *si . . . sin* . . .) each of these is marked in the same way. Subordinate clauses are indicated, in the Vaticanus, by a new line without special initial, while the Paris MS. at these places continues on the same line, marking the incision by a punctuation mark. A third manuscript of the same group, at Wolfenbüttel, separates only

¹ Proclus, *In Rem Publicam*, ed. Kroll, ii. 218; cf. ib. 413.

² Cf. O. Immisch, *Philologische Studien zu Plato*, ii, 1903, 2. Immisch speaks of a division according to the philosophical argument. But it is not probable that so commonplace a feature could have led to the special designation of this group of ἔκδοσεις and that just it should have been designated by the term κωλίζειν.

³ See E. Ströbel, *Philologus*, xlix, 1890, 54; Ch. Graux, *Revue de Philologie*, 1878, 126; E. Chatelain, *Paléographie des Classiques latins*, i, 1884, 144; M. Pohlenz, in the preface of his edition of the *Tusculanae*, 1918

the main divisions, and that only on its first page; thereafter its scribe neglects the wasteful arrangement which, for a few pages, he had endeavoured to indicate by short spaces between the letters.

The original, then, marked the beginnings of sentences and clauses by *a-linea* plus initials, while sub-clauses were indicated by *a-linea* only. Already Salmasius rightly described the P^a MS. as written *per cola et commata*. But it is important to note that the notion of these terms is not that adopted by the rhetoricians. The length of the clauses separated is by no means fixed by the rhetoricians' standard number of syllables (up to eight for the *comma*).¹ It depends on the grammatical analysis of the phrases, the results of which are indicated by a means more palpable than punctuation. The *Tusculanae* are not a subject for a rhetor's declamation. It was a grammarian who in this way arranged the book πρὸς εὐσημον ἀνάγνωσιν. The principles governing the distribution of the biblical text in manuscripts written *per cola et commata* are the same.² The *ἐκδοσις*, then, of the *Tusculanae*, and it alone, can illustrate Jerome's often quoted phrase:³ 'in Demosthene et Tullio solent fieri ut per cola scribantur et commata'. Jerome professes to have used this *novum scribendi genus* in his version of the Scriptures *utilitati legentium providens*. Cassiodorus⁴ expands this, saying that Jerome did so out of consideration for the 'simpler ones' among the brethren 'qui distinctiones non didicerant apud

¹ For example, the first *comma* of the first book ends only with *liber* (Tusc. i. 1), after the 40th syllable.

² Thus much can be asserted without undue hazard. The details of its usage have as yet never been investigated (yet cf. the *Epilogus*, p. 733. Wordsworth's and White's edition of the Vulgate Gospels; Dom H. Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate*, i, 1922, 409; Dom H. J. Chapman, *Revue Bénédictine*, xxxix, 1927, 19; Dom D. de Bruyn, *ib.* 265). The impression of a page as a whole is quite different in biblical manuscripts and in those of Cicero. This is due to the fact that the former, in accordance with a long-standing tradition, have the text written in narrow columns and therefore must break it up into more minute parts, which as often as not coincide with organic elements of the sentences. The unfixedness of the subdivisions, and the occasional use of punctuation to mark them, are similar in both groups of manuscripts. Dom H. Quentin even doubts whether there is any intentional differentiation between divisions and subdivisions. Many manuscripts certainly appear to lend support to this view. An exhaustive study of the subject remains to be made.

³ Preface to Isaiah (Migne, *P. L.* xxviii. 771); cf. Dom H. J. Chapman, *Revue Bénédictine*, xxxix, 1927, 20.

⁴ *Institutiones, Praefatio*, 9 (p. 8. 12 Mynors).

gistros saecularium artium'; for the writing *per cola et commata* is a substitute for the *distinctiones* (i.e. the punctuation marks).¹

Jerome, then, used a device developed by contemporary grammarians. So did X-*Euthalius*—here as in all his other improvements. But if he did so, why did he not say so? Why could he use the indefinite expression στιχηλόν? No ordinary grammarian would have used it in this sense, for στιχηλόν means simply 'in lines', viz. writing, in the normal way, in even lines running from the left to the right, as distinct from βουρροφηλόν, κιονηλόν, and other less common arrangements.² Στίχος may refer especially to the standard line of 16 syllables, but it is also a synonym for κῶλον.³

It is here that Christian notions affected the terminology of as well as of Jerome. Their prospective readers being conversed in the secular arts', they expected them to associate text broken up into lines of varying length with the poetical books of the Bible. These the Christian reader was used to find arranged in στίχοι = verses after the precedent already of Hebrew manuscripts. The books of the Psalms, Proverbs, Wisdom, &c. were known to him as στιχηρά or στιχήρεις βίβλοι; στιχολογεῖν was one of the main duties of the hermit; the στιχηρόν στιχάριον his constant companion.⁴ The two Christian editors followed the notions of their public, though in a characteristically different way. Jerome, never anxious to put the light of his learning under a bushel, still adapts himself to the anticipated secular reaction (*Nemo cum prophetas versibus viderit esse descriptos*)

[ib., p. 8. 20; cf. Book i. 12. 4 (p. 38. 2) and i. 15. 12 (p. 48. 12); Corssen, *Epistul. Paulin.* . . ., 1889, 13. Schol. Dion. Thrax, p. 191 Hilgard.

The last sentence of Suidas s.v. κῶλον . . . κῶλος (*sic*) οὗν ὁ ἀπηρτισμένην γὰρ ἔχων στίχος is not a part of the preceding definition (cf. above, p. 93, 4), but a fragment added from a different source (the *Lexicon Ambrosianum*). Apparently it refers to metrical *cola*. Nor ought Rendel Harris (*Metrometry* 23) in this context to have quoted John of Sicily's (vi. 127) dilution of Hermogenes' teaching (*De invent.* iv, 4, p. 183 Rabe or 158 Walz), to which John adds only some confusion of his own (see Wachsmuth, *Rhein. Mus.*, N.F. xxxiv, 1879, 51). The word *versus* finally, used by Aquila Romanus cap. 40 (*Rhetores Latini Minores*, ed. Halm, 23), is particularly ill-suited to prove Rendel Harris's point: it refers to a passage of 45 (not 20) syllables, and therefore cannot denote a sense-line or a syllable-line either. As Halm (op. cit., p. 656) and Forcellini (op. cit.), Aquila uses it in the sense of 'passage', ῥῆσις.

[cf. *Hist. Laus.*, p. 130. 16 and 158. 12 Butler, and the index of John of Philopoli, ed. E. Schwartz.

but only in order immediately to correct it. 'Euthalius', on the other hand, completely adapts himself to the notions of Christian readers. Hence he uses exclusively the term *στιχ* little concerned about its inadequacy and the clash with different, and correct, use in the sections which he copied from Pamphilus.

What Jerome and X-'Euthalius' hint at is plainly stated in the third editor of a biblical book written in sense-lines. Hesychius of Jerusalem called *στιχηρόν* his edition of the *Dode propheton*, and in his preface¹ refers to the O.T. books which were commonly thus described. He refers to X's *Apostolos* and like him, stresses the help which the *στιχηλόν*-arrangement gives in the understanding of obscure passages. In most cases of ambiguity, so he asserts, this suffices to indicate the correct division of the phrases.²

X-'Euthalius' is probably the originator, *in publicis*, of the method which is followed by Hesychius, Jerome, and, through the latter, by Cassiodorus and in many Latin biblical manuscripts.³ For X belonged to the Caesarean school. It is highly improbable that a grammarian there should have drawn his inspiration from the Latin-speaking West. The example of the *κεκωλισμένοι ἐκδόσεις* of Plato and Demosthenes was nearer him. Jerome, on the other hand, is known in many respects to have been the disciple of the Caesareans. The writing *per columnas* would seem to be a case in point. Chronological reasons practically forbid us to ascribe the priority to him. His version of Isaiah was not given to the public before A.D. 392; his translation into Greek by his friend Sophronios (which, for anything, could influence Greek practice at Caesarea) must be put somewhat later still. Already in 396 the *Martyrium Pauli* was interpolated into the 'Euthalian' prolegomena. It seems impossible to assign the successive stages of X's work, particularly this interpolation, to the few remaining years.⁴ The date of 'Euthalius', then, must be sought earlier, and probably somewhere near the middle of the fourth century. With his work

¹ P.G. xciii. 1339; cf. H. Lietzmann in *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1901, 90.

² . . . πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἀσαφῶν ἢ τῶν στίχων σαφηνίζει διαίρεσις, διδάσκει δὲ καὶ τὰ σιγμῶν τῶν ἀπόρων ποῦ δεῖ τάττειν τὰς πλείονας (i.e. πῶς δεῖ στίζειν τὰ ἄπορα). Hesychius apparently uses *σιγμή* with the notion of 'pause'; cf. above p. 92, note 6.

³ Many examples can be found in E. A. Lowe's *Codices Latini Antiquiores* 1934 ff.; e.g. Nos. 51, 66, 100, 141, &c.

⁴ Th. Zahn, however, in *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, xv, 1904, 382, argues in favour of this remote possibility. Cf. below, p. 110, note 4.

ome, in view of his close connexion with Caesarea, is not ly to have been unacquainted. If he decided to imitate its t striking feature, there was nothing to compel a reference, his part, to the Greek predecessor. Jerome was writing for in readers: to them his was a *novum scribendi genus*. Yet this y phrase sounds like the echo of 'Euthalius' words about to τὸ σχῆμα,¹ viz. the writing *per cola* which X had been the ² to apply to the 'Apostolic book'.

Using all the methods of the contemporary *grammatike*, 'Eutha- lius' had prepared an edition well suited for the student as well for the general reader. It was primarily contained in an epigraph εὐανάγνωστον καὶ πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν εὐμετακόμιστον, like biblical codices which Constantine received from Eusebius.³ In accordance with ancient literary custom he indicated his intention to have his work published by dedicating ('sending') it to a personage of high standing: one Athanasius whom I shall endeavour to identify. The success of his petition is clear from the numerous copies of his work still surviving, and from its translation into Syriac, Armenian, and perhaps Gothic.⁴

The primary copies issued by the Caesarean scriptorium were authenticated by a typical subscription which was reproduced in many copies executed on the basis, not of the 'Euthalian' original, but of one of the ἐκδόσεις. These standard subscriptions contained one more feature deriving, like the whole technique of these editions, from pagan prototypes. Ovid prefixed to the first book of his *Amores*, and Martial to the tenth of his *Grammata*, a short poem in which the book itself addresses the reader; the scribe of a Demosthenes papyrus (Rylands i.) added a short benediction of himself and the reader to the epiphon. The 'Euthalian' ἐκδόσεις similarly ended with a short epilogue in comic trimeters: first, the *coronis*, which marks the end of the text, and thereafter the book itself are made to converse with the reader. This feature is preserved in H, 88, and the Armenian. R. C. Gregory found it also on the first page of MS. 4 of the Gospels (Athens Nat. Bibl. 1, 11th cent.).⁵ Into this

¹ Zac. 404 = P. G. lxxxv. 629B.

² Cf. Zac. 404 = P. G. lxxxv. 629A middle, where, in view of the following ἐν, I incline to read πρῶτος instead of Zacagni's πρῶτον.

³ Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* iv. 36.

⁴ See K. Marold, *Stichometrie . . . in den gotischen Bibeltexten*, 1890.

⁵ Published, from Gregory's papers, and with some ill-judged inferences, by von Dobschütz in *Harv. Theol. Rev.* xviii, 1925, 280. For the Armenian see C. Conybeare, *Journ. of Philol.* xxiii, 1895, 243.

unsuitable place it must have been copied from some 'Euthalian' MS. This widespread feature again cannot be ascribed to the whim of some obscure and isolated scribe, for it is, in all the instances, one and the same adaptation of a pagan model. It could not recur, in this particular form, at places so widely distant unless, in the last resort, it went back to one and the same influential centre.

The model adapted—or at least a part of it—is preserved at the end of a first-century papyrus containing *Iliad* IV and V (*The coronis speaking* :)

Ἐγὼ κορωνίς εἰμι, γραμμάτων φύλαξ.

(*The book speaking* :)

Κάλαμος μ' ἔγραψε, δεξιὰ χεὶρ καὶ γόνυ·

Ἄν τινι με χρήσης, ἕτερον ἀντιλάμβανε·

Ἐὰν δὲ μ' ἀλείφης, διαβολῶ σ' Εὐριπίδη.^a

^a *A threat in the manner of Aristophanes.*

The metrical errors in the Christian adaptation are discreditable. Φύλαξ retained in the first line would fit the metre and the sense. For the third line Robinson (p. 4) suggested an improvement. But these shortcomings recur in every single witness including the Armenian. They must therefore be ascribed to the archetype. Different from the other 'Euthalian' equipment this final feature is not the editor's contribution but a scribe's ornament. It was therefore treated with less respect by later copyists and hence is absent from many copies of the 'Euthalian' edition.

The lists compiled by 'Euthalius' appear to have stirred the inventiveness of later Syrian editors: it would be worth while to study, from this point of view, the many similar lists of miracles, healings, &c., occurring in Syriac manuscripts.² Eusebius set the most effective example by his arrangement of the text *per cola et commata*. To make visible the structure of prose speech by graphic means had been the aim of some editors already in the Hellenistic age; it was kept in view in Roman times and during the Middle Ages; it is still being pursued in our own day. Of this long endeavour the method which

¹ I owe the reference to the unfailing memory of P. Maas. Cf. H. J. M. Milne, *Literary Papyri at the British Museum*, 1927, p. 22, No. 11; A. Wifstrand, *Hermes*, lxxviii, 1933, 468; Bror Olsson, 'Der Kolophon in antiken Handschriften', in *Zentralblatt für Bibl.* li, 1934, 365.

² It may be suspected that the methods of the Syrian and Hebrew Masoretes also originated from the adaptation of Greek grammatical technique.

pted from Greek grammarians represents a characteristic ge. We have traced the far-reaching influence of his example. This method, though helpful, was far from being ideal. Involved a great wastage of writing material, only to be entered by neglecting the smaller divisions of the text, yet in its unimpaired form could not sufficiently indicate the manifold variety of phrasing and melody demanded by the most unlimited possibilities of prose style. Therefore Byzantine grammarians, probably in the eighth century,¹ developed a new system which superseded that of 'Euthalius'. The so-called 'ecphonetic notation', by a considerable number of signs derived from all branches of the grammatical sematology, makes clear the structure of the sentences, and thus guides the recitation, with astonishing precision yet without any breaking of the lines. It can be described as a highly refined form of punctuation, for which the 'Euthalian' system, likewise, had been an alternative. Caesarea thus stands out as the fountain-head of a far-reaching tradition in applying the methods of Greek *grammatike* to the edited text. To this tradition 'Euthalius' is found to have made a contribution of his own. But the originator is Pamphilus. Harnack² remarked: 'Von einer planmässigen eigenen Rezension des Pamphilus darf man wahrscheinlich so wenig sprechen, wie von einer solchen des Eusebius.' The results so far reached compel the reconsideration of this statement. Manuscripts furnished with so detailed an apparatus as was Pamphilus' synopsis of the Acts and Epistles were not written for private use. This apparatus supplements a scientific text. The owner and head of the most famous Christian library, Pamphilus used it as the great Hellenistic philologists had used the Alexandrian library: the manuscripts collected there served him in establishing critical texts. And just as the autographs of Theophrastus and Aristarchus were meant, and used, as a basis for the work of later critics and editors; just as the original *Urpala*, the giant work of the inaugurator of Greek philological methods at Caesarea, served as the prototype of the

On this one point I venture to differ from the basic monograph of Harnack, *La Notation ecphonétique*, 1935.—Between the writing *per cola* and the use of ecphonetic notation an intermediate stage is preserved in the oldest Greek lectionary, the *Liber Comicus* from Toledo. It is written *per cola*; it uses the three Greek προσωδίαι, *acutus*, *gravis*, and *circumflexus* are used, not as accents, but as a kind of punctuation marks, indicating the cadence at the end of the periods.

Christliche Literaturgeschichte, ii. 104, note 1.

editions disseminated by his successors: so also the work Pamphilus was the foundation of later productions. 'Euthalius utilized his labours in the acknowledged manner. Moreover Pamphilus himself is reported to have had copies prepared for distribution.¹

In the last resort all these endeavours point back to Alexandria. The philological methods developed at this centre indeed became the common property of the civilized world, from Toledo to Ctesiphon. Yet the direct connexion between Caesarea and Alexandria was established by Origen. Moreover, Pamphilus whose excellence in worldly παιδεία is stressed by his biographer was himself a student, under Pierius, at the most famous catechetical schools. It so happens that Pierius is repeatedly quoted, together with Origen, for details of textual criticism and that by Jerome, the disciple of the Caesareans. The great predecessor of Pierius, Clement, denounces an obscure sect whom he calls Antitactae, for their offences against the rules of grammar⁴: οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν φωνῆς τόνῳ διαστρέφοντες τὰς γραφὰς πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἡδονὰς καὶ τινῶν προσωδίων καὶ στιγμῶν μεταθέσει τὰ παραγγελθέντα . . . βιαζόμενοι. It is not an obvious censure to be directed against heretics. It shows that besides allegorical exegesis there were other subjects, of more genuinely Alexandrine character, cultivated at the catechetical school; it also intimates the origin, and the motives, of the Christians' grammatical studies at Alexandria and Caesarea.

D. Ἀναγνώσεις and κεφάλαια

The use by 'Euthalius' of the word ἀνάγνωσις yields argument of a similar kind to that derived, in the preceding section, from the two alternative connotations of the term στίχος. If the ἀναγνώσεις had been his own product, the writers of the prologues would probably have abstained from alluding to τῆς ὀλιγομαθοῦς ἡμῶν ἀναγνώσεως τομαῖς⁵ in a sense which

¹ Jerome, *Contra Rufinum*, i. 9 (from Eusebius' lost biography of Pamphilus): 'scripturas quoque sanctas non ad legendum tantum, sed et habendam tribuebat promptissime: nec solum viris sed et feminis quas vidisset lectituras (i.e. τῇ ἀναγνώσει) deditas. Unde et multos codices praeparabat, ut cum necessitas poposcisset volentibus largiretur.'

² Eusebius, *The Palestinian Martyrs* (ed. B. Violet, *Texte und Unters.* xiv. 1896, p. 77) παιδείας γὰρ οὗτος τῆς παρ' Ἑλλήσι θαναταζομένης οὐ μετρίως ἤπτατο cf. ib. (p. 59 Violet) ἐν ῥητορικοῖς λόγοις φιλοσόφοις τε μαθήμασιν κτλ. (cap. 5 in *Hist. Eccl.*).

³ *Ad Mt.* 24. 36 and *Gal.* 3. 1.

⁴ *Strom.* iii. 39. 2 (ii. 213. 34 St.).

⁵ *Zac.* 405 = *P.G.* lxxxv. 629B; cf. above, p. 93.

tes misapprehension. At this particular place he refers to grammatical divisions which his ἀνάγνωσις had led him to ascertain, while elsewhere¹ the strikingly similar expression τῶν ἀναγνώσεων ἀκριβεστάτην τομήν serves to announce the following table. What are these ἀναγνώσεις?

Gregory,² von Soden,³ and others took for granted that they were lessons. Although the normal term for lesson is ἀνάγνωσμα, the word ἀνάγνωσις, too, can bear this sense; it is thus used, for example, in the headings of the catechetical sermons of Cyril of Jerusalem.⁴ J. A. Robinson, however, was doubtful⁵; and rightly so. It is true that some of the ἀναγνώσεις listed in the 'Euthalian' tables coincide with lessons, or at least with the contents of lessons, widely adopted, as Acts 1. 15-26; 2. 1; 3. 1. On the whole, however, they are too irregular in length, and some of them far too long, for this purpose. It is safe to say that never in any Christian church has a lesson been read comprising Acts 11. 27-14. 28, or 21. 1-24. 26, or Rom. 5. 1-8. or 1 Cor. 1. 1-6. 20; yet these are 'Euthalian' ἀναγνώσεις. 'What is the origin of these long lections', said Robinson, 'or what purpose they ever served, I cannot tell.' I do not feel more assurance than he. His guess that 'they look like the divisions of a commentator' may have gone in the right direction. ἀνάγνωσις denotes any kind of 'reading', in private as well as in public, and by laymen as well as by scholars or by ἀναγνώσται.⁶ When it means 'study', and also the 'text studied'.⁷ These ἀναγνώσεις, then, may represent sections of the sacred text set for study at the catechetical school in Caesarea.

Yet it would be surprising if the 'Euthalian' ἐκδοσις showed no relation to lectionary practice. The *anagnostes*, if any, was sure to benefit from the arrangement *per cola* of the text; the εὔσημος ἀνάγνωσις, though the avowed purpose of all grammarians' labours, must be his particular pursuit; the phonetic notation, the continuation of the σχῆμα στιχηλόν,

¹ Zac. 528 = P.G. lxxxv. 708A.

² *Textkritik*, ii, 1902, 876; iii, 1909, 1214.

³ *Die Schriften des N.T.* i, 1902, 659 *et passim*.

⁴ Also by Chrysostom, *De Poen.* ii. 4 (292 Montf. = P.G. xlix. 289).

⁵ *Euthaliana*, 1895, 15.

⁶ See (e.g.) Chrysostom, *De util. lectionis* (iii, 71 Montf. = P.G. li. 87).

⁷ Cf. above, p. 92, note 7. 'Euthalius' himself (if, as seems probable, he wrote the relevant passages) used the singular ἀνάγνωσις to denote the contents of each of the three main parts of his edition: for Acts, Zac. 438 = P.G. lxxxv. 661c; for the Catholic Epistles, Zac. 481 = P.G. lxxxv. 672B; and for the Paulines, Zac. 549 top = P.G. lxxxv. 725C.

is exclusively found in manuscripts destined for the *lectio lemnis*.¹ In fact, this relation is not wanting. It is not in the ἀναγνώσεις; it is in the κεφάλαια and particularly in their subdivisions. The consideration, under this aspect, of 'Euthalian' dreary tables reinforces his connexion with Caesarea and the bears upon the main subject of the present research.

We know nothing of a lectionary system peculiar to Caesarea. It is improbable that there was one: the neighbourhood of Jerusalem is likely to have affected the local usage. For, as well known, the Jerusalem lectionary practice influenced the usage in the surrounding countries just as thoroughly as that of Rome since the age of Charlemagne affected the Carolingian empire.² Hence, the main evidence for Jerusalem comes from the Armenian,³ with some support from the Palestinian-Syriac lectionaries, while notable analogies stand out in the old Edessene,⁵ and even in the later Nestorian⁶ systems. Finally there was a marked interaction, at a later date, between the practice of Constantinople and that of Jerusalem.⁷ A relation therefore—if it can be traced—between the divisions of Caesarean ἔκδοσις and the Jerusalem system of lessons would not be unnatural.

We have, in the 'Euthalian' tables, a complete set (for Acts indeed, two) of κεφάλαια. There is no similarly complete evidence for the Jerusalem lessons: no complete 'comes' for *lectio continua* like those contained in the 'Praxapostolos' of the Byzantine Church. On the other hand, little is proved by occasional coincidences: it is only natural that, for example, a lesson from Acts 2 is read everywhere on the day of Pentecost, and 1. 16 on Maundy Thursday. There are, however, two limited sets of *lectio continua* in the Jerusalem lectionary. Their coincidence as instanced in the adjoined lists, with the 'Euthalian' divisions

¹ The only non-biblical Christian manuscript written *per cola* is one of the *Regula Benedicti* (Cod. Monac. Lat. 19408, of the ninth century), of the same type as those of the *Tusculanae* referred to above, p. 97. The *Regula* was read to the *fratres* in the same manner as were the biblical lessons. This particular destination of the present manuscript is proved by the fact that some parts of its text are furnished with musical signs. Cf. L. Traube, *Abhandl. der Münchener Akad., hist. Kl.*, vol. xxi, 1898, p. 654; *ib.* p. 720 and plate III.

² Cf. Burkitt in *J.T.S.* xxiv, 1923, 415.

³ Published by Conybeare in *Rituale Armenorum*, 1905, 507.

⁴ Published by A. Smith Lewis, *Studia Sinaitica*, vi, 1897.

⁵ See F. C. Burkitt in *Proceed. British Acad.* 1923, 301 ff., esp. 323.

⁶ See A. Baumstark, *Nichtevangelische syrische Perikopenordnungen*, 1921.

⁷ Cf. A. Baumstark, *op. cit.* 183.

'EUTHALIAN' DIVISIONS AND JERUSALEM LESSONS

A. ACTS 1. 1-6. 7 (cf. 'Euthaliana', p. 39)

'Euthalius'										
Ἀναγνώσεις	36 κεφάλαια	40 κεφάλαια with ὑποδιαίρεσεις	Armenian	a = Add. 14528 b = Add. 17121 Edessa	Nestorian	Chrysostom Homilies (P.G. lx)	Byzantine	Silos	Other parallels	Notes
I: 1. 1-14	I: 1. 1-14	I: 1. 1-14	1. 1-14: Easter	(1. 1-11: a) 1. 1-14: b: Ascension	1. 1-14: Ascension	(I: 1. 1-5) (II: 1. 6-11)	(1. 1-8: Easter) (1. 1-12: Ascension)	(1. 1-11: Ascension)	<i>Lectio. Syro-Palaestin.</i> : 1. 1-8: Easter 1. 9-14: Ascension	1. 1-14 is not found anywhere else. Rome, e.g., reads 1. 1-11 for Ascension; Milan, 1. 1-18 for Easter and 1. 8-14 for Ascension.
II: 1. 15-26	II: 1. 15-26	II: 1. 15-26 ὑπολ.: 1. 23	1. 15-26: Maundy Thursday ..	(1. 15-20: Maundy Thursday) ..	1. 15-26: Matthias ..	(III: 1. 12-26) ..	(1. 12-17. 21-6: Easter Monday) ..	1. 15-26: Tuesday after Easter ..	<i>Georgian</i> : 1. 15-26: Maundy Thursday ..	1. 15-26: also Spain, Milan, Luxeuil, at various dates. No system has a division at 1. 23. Nor is there one in K or B at this place.
III: 2. 1-47	III: 2. 1-47	III: 2. 1-47 1. ὑπολ.: 2. 14 2. ὑπολ.: 2. 17 3. ὑπολ.: 2. 22 4. ὑπολ.: 2. 37 5. ὑπολ.: 2. 42 5 ^a . (altern.): 2. 43	.. 2. 1-21: Pentecost 2. 22-41: Monday after Easter 2. 42-3. 21: Tuesday after Easter 3. 22-4. 12: Wednesday 4. 13-31: Thursday	.. 2. 1-21: Pentecost 2. 22-36: b: Easter .. 2. 42-7: b (Mary) 2. 43-3. 8: b: Wednesday after Easter (-4. 4: a)	.. 2. 1-21: Pentecost 2. 14-36: Elevation of the Cross	IV: 2. 1-13 V: 2. 14-21 VI: 2. 22-36 VII: 2. 37-47	(2. 1-11: Pentecost) 2. 14-21: Tuesday 2. 22-36: Wednesday 2. 38-43: Thursday after Easter ..	.. 2. 1-21: Pentecost 2. 22-41: Wednesday 2. 42-47: Thursday	<i>Spain, Luxeuil, Schlettstadt</i> : 2. 1-21: Pentecost <i>Lectio. Syro-Pal.</i> : Easter Monday and Tuesday: 2. 22-8; 29-36	Nowhere a single lesson comprises the whole of ch. 2. Nowhere a lesson comprises 2. 1-13 (but see Chrysostom). But 2. 1-11 Rome, and 2. 1-12 Milan, for Pentecost. No division known 2. 17. There are alternatives in Byz.; see Gregory, p. 344. Rome: 2. 14-21; 22-8 (after Pentecost).
IV: 3. 1-4. 31	IV: 3. 1-4. 22	IV: 3. 1-4. 31 1. ὑπολ.: 4. 1 2. ὑπολ.: 4. 13 3. ὑπολ.: 4. 23	.. 4. 32-5. 11: Friday 5. 12-33: Saturday 5. 34-6. 7: Sunday	.. 4. 32-5. 11: b: 2nd Sunday after Pent. .. 5. 27-42: b: Sunday after Ascension ..		VIII: 3. 1-8 IX: 3. 12-26 X: 4. 1-22 XI: 4. 23-37	3. 1-8: Friday 3. 11-16: Saturday 3. 19-26: 2nd Monday 4. 1-10: Tuesday 4. 13-22: Wednesday 4. 23-31: Thursday			No single lesson corresponds with the main divisions. The lack of a subdivision in ch. 3 is strange.
V: 4. 32-5. 42	V: 4. 23-5. 11 VI: 5. 12-42	V: 4. 32-5. 16 ὑπολ.: 5. 1 .. VI: 5. 17-42 1. ὑπολ. 5. 27 2. ὑπολ. 5. 34			 5. 12-32: Evangelists ..	.. XII: 5. 1 (4. 36)-5. 16 XIII: 5. 17-33 XIV: 5. 34-6. 7	5. 1-11: Friday after Easter 5. 12-20: 1st Sunday 5. 13-42: 13 May	4. 32-5. 11: 4th Saturday after Easter 5. 12-16: 2nd Monday	<i>Milan</i> : 4. 32-5. 11: 4th Sunday <i>post albas</i> <i>Mozarabic</i> : (Migne lxxxv, 593): 5. 12-33 <i>Milan</i> : 5. 33-42: 3rd Sunday <i>post albas</i>	4. 33-5. 11 Beuron Lect. (ed. A. Dold). A <i>ὑπολ.</i> may have dropped out 5. 12: K , B , have it, and the wording of the titlos suggests it. Chrys. has the last two verses of the preceding lesson repeated. 5. 12-42 Beuron; 5. 17-41 Luxeuil. (Byzant. <i>lectio contin.</i> 5. 21-32: 2nd Saturday.) ..
VI: 6. 1-7. 60	VII: 6. 1-7 VIII: 6. 8-7. 60	VII: 6. 1-7 VIII: 6. 8-7. 60	End of <i>Lectio continua</i> 6. 8-8. 2: Stephen	6. 1-7: b: Ord. of Priest (with 1. 15-26) 6. 8-8. 2: a } Martyrs 6. 8-7. 60: b }	.. 6. 8-8. 3: Stephen	(Different)	6. 1-7: 2nd Sunday 6. 8-7. 60: Stephen (and <i>lect. continua</i>)	6. 1-8. 2: Stephen	<i>Georgian</i> : 6. 1-7 <i>Rome, &c.</i> 6. 8-7. 60: Stephen	6. 8 is the <i>incipit</i> for Stephen's day nearly everywhere (But 6. 1 Silos and Luxeuil). Stephen's speech is skipped almost everywhere (except Edessa and Luxeuil). Chrysostom, however, interprets it.

‘EUTHALIAN’ DIVISIONS AND JERUSALEM LESSONS

B. JAMES I. 1-3. 13

‘Euthalius’		Armenian	Byzantine	Edessa	Notes
Ἀναγνώσεις	Κεφάλ. with ὑποδ.				
I: 1. 1-2. 26	I: 1. 1-18	(Conybeare 524) 1. 1-12: fourth day after Easter 1. 13-27: fifth day 2. 1-13: sixth day 2. 14-26: Saturday	(Gregory 358) 1. 1-18: τῇ α' τῆς ἰδ' ἐβδόμ. 1. 19-27: τῇ ε' 2. 1-13: τῇ παρασκευῇ 2. 14-26: τῇ β' τῆς ιε'	(MS. Add. 17121) (Burkitt 338) 1. 1-18: Encaenia of the Cross 1. 13-27: Bar Kyama	1. 1-12: also Lection. Syro-pal. (day after Xmas)
	ὑποδ.: 1. 13				
	II: 1. 19-27				
	III: 2. 1-13				
II: 3. 1 ad fin.	IV: 2. 14-26				
	V: 3. 1-4. 12 ὑποδ. 3. 13	3. 1-13: Sunday (End of <i>lectio contin.</i>)	3. 1-10: τῇ γ'		The two Byzantine lessons following again coincide with ‘Euthalian’ divisions

has demonstrative force. For it can be stated on the basis of a comparison with all other systems, from Gaul to Mesopotamia that this coincidence is not due to chance. Nothing like this occurs anywhere else. A fair similarity with the Spanish system mainly in its oldest form as represented by the Book of Silos stands out as a suggestive fact, but does not affect the present argument. On the other hand, it is remarkable how nearly in these sections (though by no means generally) the Byzantine divisions agree with the Palestinian. The mediator may have been Antioch. For Chrysostom, when delivering his sermon on Acts at Constantinople about A.D. 400, followed a division which is largely in agreement with both. Twelve years earlier at Antioch, he had urged upon his unobservant audience the venerable antiquity of the readings from Acts during the period from Easter to Pentecost.² The divisions observed in the later set of his sermons have therefore been included.³

The tables speak for themselves. The difference between other instances of *lectio continua* in Byzantium and the 'Euthalian' κεφάλαια (see (e.g.) Romans or 1 Peter) underlines the close relation between an old *lectio continua*, closely dependent upon that of Jerusalem, and the 'Euthalian' divisions. Are then the 'Euthalian' κεφάλαια really lessons?

Two facts might be quoted in support of this suggestion (1) A great group of Vulgate manuscripts inscribe their lists of lessons with the heading *capitulare*.⁴ This points to the use of *capitulum* (= κεφάλαιον) as an equivalent for *lectio*. In fact, one of these lists is headed *Incipiunt capitula*.⁵ This agrees with a statement by Pope Vigilius (A.D. 537-55) concerning the celebration of the great feasts⁶: 'singula capitula diebus apta subjungimus quibus commemorationem s. solemnitatis facimus.' (2) The same usage occurs in the Syro-Palestinian manuscript which Mrs. Lewis has called 'Codex Climaci rescriptus II'.⁷ There nine passages⁸ are marked 'beginning of κεφάλαιον'. All but

¹ Published by Dom G. Morin in *Anecdota Maredsolana*, i.

² See *P. G.* li. 101 and 104 f. (85 and 88 Montf.).

³ Excerpted from *P. G.* lx. 13 ff. (those of A.D. 388 contain no intimation about the system of lessons).

⁴ (e.g.) the Ada-MS. (see P. Corssen in *Die Trierer Ada-Handschrift*, 1889, p. 39. 41) and its relatives, and the Sacramentarium of St. Medardus at Soissons. See also E. Ranke, *Das altkirchliche Perikopensystem*, 1847, Anhang, p. xxvii.

⁶ *Epistula*, ii. 5 (Migne, *P. L.* lxix. 18).

⁵ *Ada-Handschrift*, p. 16.

⁷ *Horae Semiticae*, viii, 1909.

⁸ Acts 20. 2; 24. 27; 25. 23; 27. 1; 27. 27; Rom. 5. 1; 2 Cor. 5. 1; 17. 1; Hebr. 3. 1.

coincide with 'Euthalian' κεφάλαια (Acts 27. 27 with a subsection). Besides, three sections (Rom. 5. 6; Tit. 2. 11; Hebr. 1) are marked κεφάλαιον εἰς τὴν παρασκευὴν τῆς ἁγίας ἐβδομάδος similarly. The Greek term (not translated but transcribed) clearly is the equivalent of 'lesson'. In fact the relevant pages recur, under the appropriate dates, both in the Jeru-² and in the Byzantine³ lectionary systems. They do not coincide with 'Euthalian' sections.

These analogies are hardly sufficient to support the suggestion proposed. It is not customary to add headings to lessons; κεφάλαια and τίτλοι, as stated above, pp. 80 ff., have their prototypes in Greek editorial technique; only a minority of the actual κεφάλαια in 'Euthalius' coincide with lessons. This special usage, of the word κεφάλαιον appears to be secondary. Originally κεφάλαια were a division of the sacred text indicating its 'main points', and dictated by literary analysis. The nearest analogy in Greek literature are the κεφάλαια into which Arrian divided his 'memories' of Epictetus. He, like Pamphilus, listed them at the head of each book.

But the ὑποδιαίρεισεις which 'Euthalius' found in Pamphilus' original manuscript appear to refer to the Caesarean system of divisions. As J. A. Robinson argued,⁴ they are likely originally to have been marked, not by figures, but by asterisks. Perhaps they were thus indicated in the *codex Pamphili*. But 'Euthalius' changed them by figures written διὰ κινναβάρεως.⁵

E. 'EUTHALIUS' SYRIAC

The Caesarean text was transmitted to Polycarp, working from Philoxenus, through an 'Euthalian' ἔκδοσις based upon, and identified with, the standard autograph written by Pamphilus. This assertion is not prompted only by the Pauline colophon of the *Harclensis*, compared with the subscription of H^{Paul}. Of the two manuscripts known to preserve the extra-Gospel parts of Thomas's work, the Cambridge MS. indeed omits the whole

² Cor. 5. 1.

³ See Conybeare, l.c. 517 and 522.

⁴ Gregory, *Textkritik*, i. 363.

⁵ *Euthaliana*, p. 24.

This use of vermilion once more emphasizes the connexion between 'Euthalius' and Caesarea. Eusebius had used it in a similar way in setting out his synoptic canons, a work comparable in method with, though infinitely more momentous than, the 'Euthalian' tables. In the 'Letter to Marinus' he explains their use in words strikingly similar to the 'Euthalian' προγράμματα (cf. also the conclusion of the preface to Eusebius' *Eccelestas*). By the way, this use of red pigment also occurs in pagan Greek writings, both scientific and documentary.

philological apparatus: it was intended, and adapted, for contemporary lectionary usage. But the Oxford MS. contains the whole 'Euthalian' equipment, if only for the Pauline Epistles. This equipment carries with itself the proof that it is not a later addition. The 'Euthalian' matter formed an integral part of the Harklean edition as well as of its Philoxenian prototype.

All this can be gathered from an excellent article written nearly half a century ago by E. von Dobschütz.¹ Strange to say, its writer failed to combine his acute observations with a recognition of the unmistakable 'Euthalian' features of the relevant Harklean colophon, thus robbing himself of the benefit of his labours. Otherwise the present writer can do little more than repeat von Dobschütz's results: he appears to have been quoted more frequently than read.

The Harklean 'Euthalius' contains practically all the material occurring in the fullest Greek manuscripts, including those parts which were absent from X's original production. Among them the *Martyrium Pauli* shows a remarkable peculiarity. Instead of the dating A.D. 396 which appears, sometimes combined with the 'Egyptian' date A.D. 458, in the Greek manuscripts, it reads 'the whole time since he suffered the martyrdom until the [present] year, namely the 819th of Alexander the Macedonian, in which this book was translated from the Greek into Syriac for the first time, are 441'.²

The year indicated is A.D. 508: the date of the Philoxenian version. The awkward last clause recalls the similarly awkward 'qui translatus fuit e lingua Graeca in Syriacam . . . *prin-*
quidem in urbe Mabug anno 819 Alexandri' in the Gothic colophon.³ The situation is the same here as there: Thorpe inserted only a safeguard in order to interfere as little as possible with the wording of his Philoxenian model. The model embodied the 'Euthalian' apparatus, into which Philoxenus had introduced the date of his own version, as did others both before and after him.⁴

¹ *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xix, 1898, 107.

² MS. O, fol. 198 r., line 9 bottom. The manuscript has '436 years' instead of 441. This scribal error is corrected by the Philoxenian original (see text). Cf. von Dobschütz, l.c. 135 and 136, note 2.

³ Cf. above, p. 28.

⁴ von Soden, l.c. 370, argued that even the 'Roman' date (A.D. 396) in the *Martyrium* is additional (this would throw the *terminus ante quem* for the text still farther back). The 'Egyptian' date (A.D. 458) is a palpable interpolation. MS. 1828 (= α 202) preserves an alternative calculation referring

Von Dobschütz succeeded in finding considerable fragments of the unrevised Philoxenian 'Euthalius' in MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 157, an (incomplete) Peshitta N.T. dated A.D. 768. For the details I refer to his article. The following main facts deserve stressing: (1) This 'Euthalius' is not an original part of the Peshitta, for (a) it contains the *Martyrium* dated A.D. 508 and (b) its style in general, and the wording of the scriptural quotations in particular, are different. (2) It is the basis of the Harklean 'Euthalius': as the comparison shows, a version basically identical with the Harklean has been worked over in the latter so as to conform with its stylistic standards and to agree more closely with the Greek. The details mentioned by von Dobschütz¹ are just those which emerged from the comparison of Harklean and Philoxenian quotations in our second chapter.

In the *Martyrium Pauli* the Philoxenian 'Euthalius' retains the 'Roman' dating A.D. 396, but naturally refrains from describing it (as does the Greek) as 'the present year'. As was to be expected, the relative clause just described as added by Thomas ('in which . . . for the first time') is absent from the additional reference to A.D. 508 in the London MS.

If this manuscript were at present accessible, the comparison of the biblical quotations, for example in the longer table of μαρτυρίαι, would yield more fragments from the Philoxeniana (in O these greater sets of scriptural passages have been brought into agreement with the Harklean text).² As it is, the Oxford MS. alone yields a few, for the scattered biblical references in 'Euthalius'' prologue have largely escaped the reviser's attention. They differ from the Harklean version and, as von Dobschütz never, agree with the corresponding passages in the London 'Euthalius'.

It would be easy to add to the set of exhibits by using the quotations in O as evidence for the Philoxenian basis, and contrasting them with the text of the Pauline letters in the same manuscript. The result would be a mere duplication of the results gained before: the usual features, like the alteration of the word order in accordance with the Greek, the cumbersome renderings of the *verbum substantivum* and of the personal pro-

¹ A.D. 515; MSS. 1885 (= α 268) and 1161 (= α 350) even refer to D. 1115 and 1149 respectively.

² l.c. 132.

³ von Dobschütz never carried out his intention (l.c. 134, note 1) of printing the relevant texts.

noun, the typical equivalent *b'jad* for Greek διὰ, duly reappeared. It seems sufficient to note a few salient features. In the Harklean, Greek πίμπλημι was found rendered (above, Exhibit XI) by the Syriac *mlā*. In O's version of the 'Euthalian' prologue the same verb is used twice² in rendering Γρηγορίου πληροφορέω. This is not a relic from the Peshitta, which used a different verb, *šlām*; nor is it due to Thomas of Harkel who retained in his text of these two passages, as well as Rom. 4. 21 and 14, the Greek word. In the prologue he failed to adopt Polycarp's revision of the Peshitta. On the other hand, Polycarp, translating 'Euthalius' quotation of Gal. 6. 17, had already introduced the verb *t'ān*, the characteristic equivalent of Greek βαστάζω, instead of the *škal* of Pesh.³ This conforms with the inference drawn from Exhibit VIII.

In two cases the Oxford MS. preserves, in the 'Euthalian' prologues, the rendering of a Greek text different from that represented by the Peshitta as well as by its own continuous text. It means that in the prologues Thomas failed to expurgate readings peculiar to Philoxenus which in the text of the Epistles he altered on the basis of his standard Greek. The first is in the quotation, just mentioned, of Gal. 6. 17. The Pesh speaks of 'the marks of Our Lord Jesus'; Philoxenus, as represented by the 'Euthalian' quotation in O, has 'of Jesus only'. But in the text of the Epistle O reads 'the marks of Our Lord Jesus'. The second instance is similar. In 2 Tim. 4. 18 Pesh reads 'my Lord stood with me'. Philoxenus, i.e. as represented by the 'Euthalian' quotation preserved in O,⁴ indeed suggests the same original, but stresses the pronoun by giving the full form instead of the suffix in Pesh. But in the text of the Epistle O has 'the Lord' instead.

The occurrence, in the Harklean Paulines, of a reference to Pamphilus, and of the 'Euthalian' apparatus, is explained. Both go back to the ἐκδοσις used by Polycarp. The identity of the subscriptions in H, 88, the Armenian, and the original

¹ In characterizing the biblical quotations in the Philoxenian 'Euthalian' von Dobschütz (l.c. 133) employs practically the same words as those who have suggested themselves in the consideration of the Philoxenian fragments above: 'Die hier vorliegende Fassung steht sprachlich gleichsam zwischen Peshitto und Heracleensis.'

² 2 Tim. 4. 5 and 4. 17; cod. O, fol. 197 v., left column; Zac. 533 = P.G. lxxxv. 711.

³ Cod. O, fol. 195 v., right column, line 7 bottom, rendering Zac. 533 = P.G. lxxxv. 702.

⁴ Cod. O, fol. 197 v., left column, top; Zac. 533 = P.G. lxxxv. 711.

Philoxeniana, are not, and could not be, due to chance. This subscription was added to the copies issued from the Caesarean scriptorium, one of which was used by Polycarp in A.D. 508. Another one, a century later, served Thomas of Harkel in revising the Euthalian matter contained in his copy of the Philoxeniana. We know that in the Paulines Thomas used two Greek manuscripts. The second of these two must have actuated those alterations by Thomas which reflect a Greek text different from that of the Philoxeniana. In 'collating' the Acts and Epistles, on the other hand, Thomas professes to have used one Greek manuscript only. The absence from codex O of the 'Euthalian' apparatus for these parts may be connected with this fact.

Thomas of Harkel revised the Philoxeniana. The Philoxeniana was a revision of the Peshitta on the basis of a 'Euthalian' $\kappa\lambda\omicron\sigma\iota\varsigma$. The work of 'Euthalius' finally was based on Pamphilus'. The three links of this argument can be established independently of each other, and fit together satisfactorily. It remains to consider the textual character of the Philoxeniana as far as the scanty fragments permit.

F. THE TEXTUAL CHARACTER OF THE PHILOXENIANA

In view of the close connexion between Polycarp's model and Caesarea which has been established (so at least it is hoped) by other arguments, it is reasonable to compare its wording, as far as it has been recovered, with the text of those witnesses which have been pointed out by modern research as evidence for a 'Caesarean text'. The facts, as far as I have been able to collect them, are put together in the adjoined three tables. Remembering the suggestion, by Bousset and Conybeare, that the corrector C of codex $\aleph$ may have worked from a Caesarean MS. in correcting the New Testament, because 'he' (it is not the same scribe) did so in parts of the Old Testament, $\aleph$ has been allotted a separate column. Θ has been quoted from Gregory, *fam.* 1 from Lake, *fam.* 13 from Ferrar, 700 from Hoskier. The Harklean has been added, not as a witness, but for the sake of illustration. The lack of a critical edition of the Georgian (except for the first two instances) and Armenian means a very great handicap.

In considering Table A, variant (4) ought to be left out of account. In Philox, as well as in Pesh, the omission of $\kappa\alpha\iota$ is probably merely due to the difficulty of rendering it in idiomatic

PHILOXENIAN TEXT AND 'CAESAREAN' EVIDENCE

A. GOSPELS

Other evidence	The variant	Philox.	Θ	Fam. I	Fam. 13	700	Σ (Σ ^c)	Eusebius	Syr.-Palest. <i>Lect. Val. Clim.</i>	Harcl.	Notes
BWZ, al.	<i>Exhibit II: Mt. 1. 18</i>	×	×	×			Σ	Dem. Ev. vii. 1. 54 (p. 308, 7 H.)	(×) (×)	×	'generatio' latt., Georg., Syr ^{sc} Pesh is ambi- valent
LIT, Byz.	(1) γενεαίς γεννησίς				×	×					
W, Byz. BC*ZP ¹ Pesh	(2) μνηστευθ.] + γαρ — γαρ	×	×	×	×	×	Σ	Dem. Ev., l.c.	×	×	Georg. 'quia' may represent + γαρ
multi rec. B*C*DW; rec. pler.	<i>Exhibit XXII:</i> Lk. 1. 34 f. (3) v. 34, εσται] + μοι — μοι	×	×	1. 131 118. 209	×	×	Σ	Dem. Ev. vii. 1. 98 (p. 317, 17 H.)	×	×	28, too, has μοι
cet. omnes Iren. $\frac{1}{2}$, Pesh	(4) v. 35, Διο] + και — και	×	×	×	×	×	Σ	Dem. Ev., l.c.	×	×	
C 22, 33, 517 al., acem Pesh, Valent., Athan. Byz., cet.	(5) γεννομενον] + εκ σου — εκ σου	×	×	×	124 (118. 209)	×	Σ	Dem. Ev., l.c.	×	×	
BA, lat ^{vet} , al.	<i>Exhibit XI: Lk. 2. 21</i>										
DEW, Byz.	(6) περιτεμειν] + αυτον + το παιδιον	×	×	×		×	Σ	Quaest. Ev., P.G. xxii. 933 ^B	×	×	
plerique; Byz. D, lat . . . Pesh	(7) ante εκληθη + και — και	×	×	×	×	×	Σ	×	×	×	565 omits (cod O ex

B. ROMANS

Other evidence	The variant	Philox.	Pesh.	1739	Σ ^(*)	Clim. II	Syr.-Palest. Stud. Sin. VI	Hard.	Notes
BCD, al. pler. L 'al. plus 30', vulg.	5. 11: <i>Exhibit VII</i> (9) καυχόμενοι καυχώμεθα	×	×	×	Σ		×	×	<i>Georg., Armen.</i> : 'we glory'; Origen-Rufinus, <i>In Rom.</i> 542 D: gloriamur; so ib. 543 D
fere omnes Athan., Did., Aug.	8. 11: <i>Exhibit XX</i> (10) του εγείραντος (± τον) ιησούν ιησούν χριστον	×	see note	×	Σ	×	×	×	<i>Pesh.</i> : 'dominum nostrum Iesum Christum'
AC plerique	(11) εκ νεκρων ³ þos. post εγείρας ante ζωοποιήσει	×	×	×	Σ [*] Σ ^c	×	×	×	
plerique AD* pauc. C vulg. pauc.	(12) ± τον ² χριστον χριστον ιησούν ιησούν χριστον	×	(×)	×	Σ ^c Σ [*]	×	×	×	<i>Pesh.</i> , ed. Schaaf: dominum nostrum I. C. Origen-Rufinus, <i>In Rom.</i> , p. 591 A: Iesum Christum
plerique BCD*	10. 17: <i>Exhibit V</i> (13) θεου χριστου	×	×	×	Σ ^c Σ [*]			×	Origen-Rufinus, <i>In Rom.</i> , l.c.: Christi
B, latt. cet.	15. 18: <i>Exhibit XXI</i> (14) τολμω τολμησω	×	×	×	Σ ^c Σ [*]	×		×	
recentiores omn. ABCD latt. al.	(15) λαλειν τι τι λαλειν	×	×	×	Σ	×		×	

PHILOXENIAN TEXT AND 'CAESAREAN' EVIDENCE

C. 2 COR. 5. 16

Other evidence	The variant	Philox.	Pesh.	1739	Origen	Eusebius	Stud. Sin. VI	Harcl.	Σ
BD*, 17, 39 ^{Tisch} Latin (with FG) no support Greg. Nyss., Jerome plerique	<i>Exhibit XIX</i> (16) εΙ κκι et si εΙ γαρ εΙ γαρ κκι εΙ δε κκι	×	×	×	$\frac{4}{5} \times 1$ $5(+1) \times 2$ $\times 3$ $\times 4$	Dem. Ev. ix. 6, 10; Comm. in Ps. 5. 12 In Ps. 14. 1	×		Σ*
								×	Σ ^c

¹ Contra Cels. vi. 68 (p. 138. 16 Koe.) ; ib. vii. 39 (p. 189. 15) ; In Cant. vi. inc. (ex Procop.), iii. 99 Delarue ; In Mt. tom. xi. 17 (p. 63. 11 Klost.).

² (All Latin-only) In Cant. prol. (p. 85. 5 Bae.) ; ib. ii (p. 162. 19) ; In Gen. Hom. (p. 73. 15 Bae.) ; In Lev. Hom. i (p. 286. 26) ; In Num. Hom. (p. 227. 16) ; and *etiam si* De princ. ii. 6 (p. 147 Koe.). These are practically certain to represent Greek εΙ κκι.

³ In Psalmos (ii. 607 B, Delarue).

⁴ In Ierem. Hom. xv. 6 (p. 130. 17 Klost.).

Syriac. Of the remaining seven instances, one can hardly be classed as 'Caesarean', viz. (7). I have, indeed, been unable to trace the Eusebian counter-instance quoted by Tischendorf. Even if he should have been wrong, Θ and fam. 13, witnessing against the Byzantine norm,¹ together with the Syro-Palestinian lectionary, suggest that Philox here is not on the 'Caesarean' side. (8), in spite of almost overwhelming counter-evidence, is not so definitely 'anti-Caesarean': the reading ἀγαπᾶτε is so exceptional that the four bold members of fam. 13, together with the other evidence quoted under the Exhibit, are perhaps sufficient to support Philox against all the other 'Caesarean' representatives going with the majority. On the other hand, (1) and (6) fulfil all conditions, even though Syro-Pal. be adverse: in Mt. 1. 18, γένεσις cannot be distinguished in Syriac from γέννησις unless recourse be had to the philosophical term adopted by Philox and Harcl.² In Lk. 2. 21 the lectionary and fam. 13 are outvoted. (2), too, is practically certain: fam. 13 and the (sole) manuscript of Eusebius have undergone the influence of the Byzantine norm. The same holds good for (5): here Θ with 1, 131, 124 overrule the Byzantine vote of the rest. (3) finally is an ambiguous case. On the whole then, out of seven variants in the Gospels, four are definitely 'Caesarean', while two are ambiguous, and one 'non-Caesarean'. Thus the relation between Philoxenus and Caesarea which the Harklean colophon indicates in the Paulines is clearly perceptible in the text of the Gospels.

For the Paulines I had hoped to use 1739 as a touchstone,³ seeing that it claims to represent the text of Origen. This expectation was definitely thwarted, for Philox and 1739 disagree in seven out of eight cases.⁴ If 1739 represents the 'Caesarean' text, then Philox does not—and vice versa. I prefer

¹ This unsafe factor I have introduced on the authority of von Soden's apparatus.

² Not even this device is open to a Latin translator. Supposing he wanted to express γένεσις, what else could he have written but *generatio*? Hence nothing can safely be concluded from the Latin text of Origen's 128th Homily in *Lucam* (p. 172. 17 Rauer). The reference ib. xiv (p. 94 f.) to Lk. 2. 21 is only less ambiguous.

³ Cf. E. v. d. Goltz, *Texte und Unters. N.F.* ii, 1899; O. Bauernfeind, ib., *Dritte Reihe*, xiv, 1924; K. Lake and S. New, *Harvard Theol. Studies*, xvii, 1932.

⁴ They disagree, furthermore, also in some cases which have not been included in the tables. In Rom. 8. 11 (Exhibit XX), 1739, with 47, 67^{marg.}, Tert., Method., omits the first ἐκ νεκρῶν (cf. Bauernfeind, l.c. 106); Philox

the latter alternative. First, because what other evidence the 'Caesarean' readings there is never agrees with 1739. Moreover, if Origen's text had served as the basis for the *ἐκδόσεις* produced by Pamphilus and his successors, there ought to be many more representatives of it than 1739 and its close allies, Bodl. Roe 16 and Vindob. 302 (47 and 67; Tischendorf, 1908 and 424** Gregory). The Caesarean cr which whose work survives in 1739 was struck by the peculiar character of the text which he identified as Origenian—as he could not have been had this text been the norm for the Caesarean *ἐκδόσεις*. These observations, then, serve to reinforce the opinion voiced by many scholars that, for the text of the New Testament or at least of the Epistles, the work of Origen had nothing like the importance which it had in the Septuagint.¹

Two presumptive crown-witnesses for the Caesarean side cannot be questioned, because for the passages in question the text is not extant, and the text of 88 has not been published. Thus we are left, in the Epistles, with quite insufficient means for identifying the 'Caesarean' norm; all the more so as I have been unable to find a relevant quotation from Rom. in Eusebius while those from 2 Cor. 5. 16 speak with no single voice. Yet the few remaining indications are worth noting. In the few cases where in Rom. a reading of *κ* has been changed by the corrector C, this results in Philox and *κ*^c agreeing.² Palestinian Syriac evidence is available for six out of the seven instances from Rom. It agrees with Philox in four cases. The two cases of disagreement carry little weight, the word order in (11) being against Syriac usage, while the addition, in (12),

(and so Origen-Rufinus, *In Rom.* p. 591 A and c Del.) has it. At the same place 1739 omits *καί* after *ζωοποιήσει*. This reading is recorded from *κ*, A, 47, 352, Method., Epiph. Origen agrees twice, viz. *In Mt.* p. 668. 17 Kl. and *In Ps.* p. 533 F Delarue, but retains *καί* *In Mt.* p. 279. 14, *In Ps.* p. 531 and *In Rom.* p. 591 c. Philox again disagrees with 1739. Finally, in Gal. 6. Philox, here represented by the version of the 'Euthalian' prologus O fol. 195 v., renders τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. This has the support of the Syro-Pal. lectionary as well as of most of Zacagni's (p. 524) codices. But 1739 writes . . . τοῦ κυρίου μου Ἰησοῦ. This reading, otherwise unattested, is sure to go back to Origen: Rufinus' translation of the *Homilies on Genesis* (p. 50. 3 Bährens) records *domini mei Jesu Christi*, which again is unique.

¹ For relevant literature see Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchl. Lit.* 1903, 88.

² However, the value of this agreement is diminished by the fact that only in (14) *κ*^c is not, at the same time, in agreement with the majority of the later manuscripts.

'Jesus' to 'Christ' is almost natural. Only in one case, (9), have I been able to reinforce the scanty 'Caesarean' evidence by a reliable reference to the Armenian and Georgian,¹ agreeing with Philox. As far as the evidence goes (but admittedly it does not go far enough), there is some reason to regard as 'Caesarean' every one of the variants quoted from Rom.

In 2 Cor. 5. 16, finally, Philox preserves an almost unique reading. While $\aleph^c$ here agrees with the majority of Greek manuscripts, the sporadic support given to Philox by Origen and Eusebius is remarkable. Here again 1739, supported by ten Origenian instances and two from Eusebius, stands against Philox.

The inadequacy of the material here presented is regretted. It probably suffices to show that there is an affinity between Philox and the 'Caesarean' text, but cannot in itself be described as a substantial addition to the textual material. The general results of the present inquiry are respectfully submitted to the consideration of the explorers of the 'Caesarean text'. If they should prove stable, they would still represent, not an end, but a beginning. An unidentified Syriac version has been postulated as the source of the 'Caesarean' strands in the Georgian and Armenian as well as in the Palestinian Syriac. Here a Syriac version with the closest affinities to Caesarea has been identified. It is therefore tempting to claim for Philox the place of the 'postulated Syriac'. This claim would indeed be void if the latter, as has been asserted,² were at the basis of the Syriac version of Eusebius' *Theophania*, the extant manuscript of which was written almost a century before Polycarp's version was edited. I should not trust this argument: no special version need be assumed to account for the 'Caesarean' features in a writing of Eusebius. If the quotations in the *Theophania* were translated by taking an Old Syriac text for a basis, and adapting it to Eusebius' Greek, the result would be what we have. In fact, the style of the Syriac *Theophania* is quite different from the Philoxenian.

I cannot, however, suppress my doubts with regard to the whole hypothesis. As regards the Palestinian Syriac, this version bears every stamp of having been done directly from the Greek. Of the presence, in the Armenian and Georgian,

¹ From F. C. Conybeare, *Amer. Journ. Theol.* i, 1897, 888.

² *Harv. Theol. Rev.* xxi, 1928, 321.

of a Syriac basis I am convinced by Robinson,¹ Conybeare² and Blake.³ But I doubt the identity of the Syriac and the Caesarean strands. Historical reasons make me believe that Christianity was first brought to Armenia by Syrian missionaries: the facts marshalled by Conybeare⁴ are not invalidated by some exaggerated conclusions which he drew from them. These missionaries brought the Scriptures to Armenia. Accordingly an Old-Syriac strand in the Armenian (and hence in the Georgian) is to be postulated. It was in fact discerned by Robinson⁵ and Conybeare.⁶ The lack of reliable editions of the relevant parts of these versions forbids dogmatizing. In a country exposed to influences from Syria as well as from Palestine and Asia Minor, a highly composite biblical text is to be expected. I would, however, here mention one small argument which seems strongly to suggest a Greek origin for the 'Caesarean' element in the Armenian version. Armenian manuscripts preserve the complete 'Euthalian' apparatus, including the subscription which recurs in H, 88, and in the Philoxeniana.⁷ This subscription has been recognized as an ingredient of the original 'Euthalian' ἐκδοσις, which we have endeavoured to trace to Caesarea. It is, therefore, exceedingly probable that the 'Caesarean' element affected the Armenian version through the medium of an 'Euthalian' text.⁸ Now this particular 'Euthalius' appears not to have made the détour through Syria. For the 'chest of books' in Caesarea, mentioned in the Armenian colophon of the Paulines,⁹ resulted from an over-literal rendering of the Greek βιβλιοθήκη. It cannot be derived from the Syriac, which translates 'house of books'.

If, then, I cannot claim to have found the 'postulated Syriac' the Philoxeniana still remains as a witness for the Caesarean text. If only more of it could be found! At least the *Miræ Catholic Epistles*, admirably edited by J. Gwynn, ought to

¹ *Euthaliana*, p. 76.

² *Amer. Journ. Theol.* i, 1897, 888.

³ *Harv. Theol. Rev.* xv, 1922, 299; ib. xxi, 1928, 310.

⁴ *The Key of Truth*, 1898, pp. ciii, cviii ff.

⁵ *Euthaliana*, p. 76.

⁶ *Amer. Journ. Theol.* i, 1897, 895; cf. R. P. Blake, *Harv. Theol. Rev.* xx, 1928, 311.

⁷ Conybeare, *Journ. of Philol.* xxiii, 1894, 24; id. *Z.N.T.W.* v, 1904, 43.

⁸ It would be interesting to retrace the two Georgian *Apostoloi* which Th. Kluge, *Z.N.T.W.* xii, 1911, 349 reports having seen. 'Both were dated A.D. 399': so this expert affirms. I suppose they both contained 'Euthalius', with the *Martyrium* dated A.D. 396.

⁹ Cf. above, p. 16.

tested. And if my conclusions concerning 'Euthalius' are considered worth checking, there is plenty of material. The numerous 'Euthalian' MSS. should be collated and sifted and their evidence compared with that of H and the Syro-Palestinian version as well as with the Armenian and Georgian, once these have been critically edited. Thus it should be possible to perform the task once attempted, with insufficient material, by Bousset and Conybeare: the recovery of the text of the Acts and Epistles as constituted at Caesarea by Pamphilus and other grammarian-theologians, and circulated, in copies carefully revised, 'in the provinces of Palestine and throughout the churches of the East'.

ADDENDA

p. 12

THE date A.D. 610 for Anastasius Sinaites' *Hodegos* was advocated by Jean Maspéro (*Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie*, 1923). A. Jülicher, however, has argued forcibly in favour of a later date (*Z.N.T.W.* xxiv, 1925, 20).

p. 16, note 4

The term ῥήματα, as a synonym for στίχοι, is confined to the subscriptions of manuscripts of the Ferrar group. R. Herzog, indeed, would find it in the subscription of 2 Clement in the Bryennios codex (*Studies in Early Christianity*, ed. S. J. Case, 1928, 426). But ῥητά there is right. It refers to the biblical quotations. Like the μαρτυρίαι in 'Euthalius', these ῥητά must have been counted and listed in a philological edition of the Apostolic Fathers.

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